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PUBLICATIONS OF THE RENAISSANCE SOCIETY OF AMERICA

# STUDIES IN THE RENAISSANCE

VOLUME II

THE RENAISSANCE SOCIETY OF AMERICA
1161 Amsterdam Avenue
New York 27

# THE RENAISSANCE SOCIETY OF AMERICA

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PUBLICATIONS OF THE
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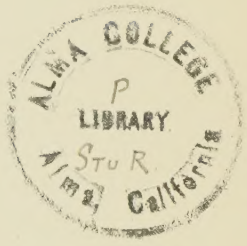
# STUDIES IN THE RENAISSANCE

Volume II

*Edited by* M. A. SHAABER

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# Foreword

The Editorial Board is pleased to present the members of the society with another volume of *Studies in the Renaissance.* Part of the cost of publication has been defrayed by gifts made for the purpose by Mrs. John D. Gordan, Mrs. Edward L. Doheny, the Newberry Library, and the Pierpont Morgan Library, to all of whom the society expresses its warmest thanks.

The society is also indebted to the following members who, in addition to the Editorial Board, have read some of the material submitted for publication: Roland H. Bainton, Allan G. Chester, Felix Gilbert, Harold J. Grimm, Rudolf Hirsch, Millard Meiss.

A third volume of *Studies in the Renaissance* is scheduled for publication in June 1956. Members who wish to submit papers for the consideration of the Editorial Board are invited to do so without delay.

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# Latin Historiography: a Survey, 1400-1600

Flavio Biondo, writing in 1443 to Alfonso of Naples, explained his purpose in composing a history. All interested in the humanities realized, said he, that in twelve hundred years Italy had produced poets and orators, but practically no historians. Scholars had prepared translations from the Greek and philosophical treatises, yet their duty to history they had avoided, or touched upon in superficial fashion.[1] This judgment was echoed by Bruni, Bonfini, Sabellico, and others, who regretted the lack of accounts of their medieval past.

Church calendars had shaped the early recording of events. The language was Latin, the arrangement chronological, with no effort to group related occurrences or to indicate causation other than the will of God. The supernatural was readily accepted. As the monkish compiler was dedicated to spiritual things, he strove for a universal scope, yet in actuality he was confined to the certainties of his neighborhood, or to repetition of an earlier chronicle. His purpose was didactic, the inculcation of a religious or moral principle. From the Book of Daniel he repeated the theory of the four monarchies which should succeed to hegemony before the second coming of Christ. He reminded his readers of the Hesiodic golden age, implying the deterioration of the human race. Any development of history on a national scale was obstructed by the feudal patchwork, but, in different countries at different periods, approximating the achievement of less turbulent conditions, authors tended to eulogize the deeds of a racial group. Thus Jordanes prepared a history of the Goths, Gregory, of the Franks, Bede, of the English Church, Paul the Deacon, of the Lombards. An occasional biography was written, such as Einhard's life of Charlemagne, or Asser's Alfred. These, while valuable for facts, are uncritical.

After revivals of learning in the ninth and in the twelfth century, the desire to collect and classify knowledge produced the encyclopedic work of Vincent of Beauvais, the universal histories of Matthew Paris and Martin of Troppau, and the ecclesiastical history of Ptolemy of Lucca, all widely read. By 1400 Europeans had an established commerce with the near east, the far east, and the Baltic regions. Prosperity made possible the support of learning, whereas the secular attitude applied new methods to old subjects. Roman law,

[1] B. Nogara, *Scritti inediti e rari di Biondo Flavio* (Rome, 1927), p. 148.

taught since the twelfth century as a system to be twisted into fitting shape for feudal institutions, came to be studied as a source for comprehending the past. The medieval pattern of government had not recognized a bourgeoisie; its functioning was further strained by the controversy between popes and councils. Governmental techniques hence were a subject of immediate concern; archaeology and philology were aids to the study of the past; geography would explain the widening world. Observation was applied or mingled with older, less materialist techniques.

Change came first to northern Italy, where these alterations in viewpoint had a significant effect on the pattern of historical writing and the concept of history. The theory of the four monarchies, teaching that the last secular empire would be the Roman, postulated its continued existence under the Frankish and later German houses. This myth died hard. Although the peninsula had suffered repeated conquest, Italians still regarded themseves as lineal descendants of the Romans. The illusion gave them a fancied superiority over other peoples. Their Roman heritage engendered an enthusiasm for military science and deeds of valor, enhanced by the revival of classical literature. Italian historiography of the humanist school, influenced by the medieval preoccupation with rhetoric, and now more thoroughly versed in the oratorical art of Cicero, made form its first objective. Historical narratives were intended to furnish entertainment while they offered patterns of conduct. Nevertheless, with the passage of time the emphasis swung from style to veracity.

While Italians could learn of the wars of Greece and the rise of Rome, they had only scattered details of a local nature about their own development. Leonardo Bruni of Arezzo (d. 1444) investigated the past of the Florentine people, which involved most of Italy. He was the leading humanist of the city, who already had produced a *Laudatio Florentinae urbis* expressing the elements of his political ideas.[2] Bruni proposed to give reliable information on early days, and to that end discussed the settlement by Etruscans, who, he thought, came from Lydia. On the authority of classical authors he identified certain Roman customs as Etrurian. From similar sources, he offered his theory of the founding of Florence: it was a military colony initiated by Sulla. Its continuous existence was evidenced by the remains of ancient buildings. These simple statements were Bruni's substitute for a tangle of myths.

[2] H. Baron, "A Struggle for Liberty in the Renaissance", *American Historical Rev.*, LVIII (1953), 289.

The decline and fall of the empire he attributed to the subjection of the citizens to the emperor. This theme of popular liberty, reflecting the attitude of the Florentines, acquired emphasis by repetition. He was quizzical about the crowning of Charlemagne after the defeat of the Lombards, wishing to know whether the title was given by the people with papal approval or by the pope against the wishes of the people, who alone had the right to bestow it.

Book I ended significantly with the downfall of the Hohenstaufens. Book II started with an analysis of the municipal constitution in the second half of the thirteenth century, an unusual feature. Bruni accepted the standards of Giovanni da Prato,[3] refusing to repeat legends and basing his arguments on archaeological and rational evidence. The material is directed toward his main topic, with a coherence foreign to the medieval historian. For the first book, his sources were mostly classical; for the Gothic period, *Scriptores historiae Augustae,* Orosius, Procopius, and Paul the Deacon, with occasional reference to Villani. State documents aided him for the thirteenth century, as well as chroniclers—Sanzanome and Mussato, with others in the vernacular.[4] Yet Bruni combined traits of the old with the new. His arrangement was chronological, the main interest centering upon battles with neighboring towns until he closed with the Milanese wars of 1402. The rhetorical obsessions of the humanist school led him to insert speeches in direct discourse, with a didactic aim, and to express in Roman terms the institutions of a later era. The rhetoricians, however, had used history as illustrative material, and had not scrupled to distort it for their purpose. Bruni was an innovator in that his emphasis was on the truth rather than entertainment; his goal was to inform, in Ciceronian Latin, within the limits of Florentine patriotism.

This work, translated into Italian by D. Acciajuoli in 1476, was one of the chief inspirations for humanist historians. Many Latin manuscripts attest its popularity.[5]

Other works on the Florentines were composed by Poggio (d. 1459) and Bartolommeo Scala (d. 1497). These are less important. Poggio's Latin was superior, his organization poor. The earlier period he covered in one page, following in general Bruni's account. On page four he reached the year 1282; then in eight books he traced the

[3] N. Rubinstein, "The Beginnings of Political Thought in Florence", *Jour. of the Warburg and Courtauld Inst.,* v (1942), 224.

[4] E. Santini, "Leonardo Bruni aretino e i suoi historiarum fiorentini populi libri XII", *Annali di Reale Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa* (1910), pp. 30, 34.

[5] A complete bio-bibliography is in the *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke.*

story to the Peace of Lodi in 1454. Scala was even less satisfactory, since he did not attempt a criticism of sources, accepting legends and incorporating diverse accounts by earlier writers. He narrated the fortunes of Florence from the origins to 1450.

An attempt to ascertain historical truth based on archaeology and source material distinguished Flavio Biondo of Forli (d. 1463). *Roma instaurata* described the antiquities whose ruins he had scanned; *Italia illustrata* compiled geographical information on fourteen Italian provinces. His introduction gave the occasion: the inroads of barbarians and the lack of historians to compile the happenings of a thousand years resulted in ignorance, not only of the course of events but also of the identity of Italian regions and towns mentioned by classic authors. Furthermore the people of his own day did not know the origins of many towns of which they were residents. Since an interest in history had awakened, Biondo was attempting to give to old places and peoples their new names, to more recent settlements an increased prestige, to those that had been destroyed a life at least of memory,[6] and to illuminate the darkness of Italian affairs.

To obtain information he traveled extensively within Italy. Friends and correspondents were invited to contribute data. Identification of the existing monuments and place names involved philology. Furthermore, the author was drawn into the field of cultural history when he included notations on famous men. Among the ancients his sources were Livy, Virgil, Pliny, Strabo, and Ptolemy; among the medieval historians Procopius, recently Latinized, Paul the Deacon, the *Papal Registers,* the church fathers, and Andrea Dandolo. Maps made for Robert of Naples and Petrarch were available. Later, Biondo rounded out his investigation of the Italian past with *Roma triumphans,* a survey of the institutions which had moulded the Mediterranean area into an empire. The work was dedicated to Pius II, and formed a basis for the antiquaries of the next century.[7]

*Italia illustrata* was given to the world incomplete when the author was at work upon a more purely historical treatise, the *Decades historiarum ab inclinatione Romanorum imperii,* which he did not live to conclude. The third decade and the first book of the fourth, dealing with the events of his own lifetime, were written by

[6] *Italia illustrata* (Basel, 1531), preface.

[7] A. Momigliano, "Ancient History and the Antiquarian", *Jour. of the Warburg and Courtauld Inst.,* XIII (1950), 291.

1442. The first and second decades, covering a millenium, required another ten years of preparation, and were not finished until 1453.[8]

The title proclaims the novelty of the author's concept, for he realized that the Roman Empire was no more. To the medieval period he devoted the larger part of the volume, emphasizing Italian affairs, but recognizing European figures like Charlemagne. The heir to Rome in its administrative and judicial aspects was, for him, the Roman Church. His sources, acknowledged, incorrectly attributed, or veiled in silence, are at least half a hundred. Buchholz[9] made a detailed study of authorities and apparent borrowings, to which the reader is referred. Sources used extend from *Scriptores historiae Augustae* to Dante, Villani, and Petrarch; they include the *Liber pontificalis,* the letters of Jerome, of Augustine, and of Gregory VII, biographies such as Einhard's and early lives of the Roman pontiffs. For the Crusades he used both eastern and western sources, chiefly William of Tyre and Andrea Dandolo. Information about France and Spain he managed to obtain from native chroniclers—the *Gesta regum Francorum* and Idatius.

In the Vatican Library Nogara discovered marginal notes in Biondo's writing which illustrate his search for contemporary accounts as well as his critical appraisal of those he found. On Paul the Deacon's work Biondo commented, "The author was contemporary with this event". Later he wrote, "The good man is greatly at fault in his description of Italy". But for Geoffrey of Monmouth Biondo took more space, and on the last page wrote, "Although I have read with care all the accounts I could find anywhere, I have never found anything so full of trivialities and of lies; to such an extent that the contents of this book outdo all the dreams of the drunken or the feverish".

The second book of the fourth decade described the return of a mission from Ethiopia. Since their report did not tally with accepted opinion and actually violated the statements of Ptolemy, it was received with skepticism. But, Biondo wrote, consideration should go to the excellent character of their leader. Attention must also be given to the fact that Ptolemy did not know many things about the north which had lately become familiar to Italians. It was not impossible that the regions to the south of Egypt might also have been outside his ken.

[8] B. Nogara, *op. cit.,* preface, notes the discovery of an additional book.

[9] P. Buchholz, *Die Quellen der Historiarum Decades des Flavius Blondus* (Naumberg, 1881).

The style of Biondo is ragged and staccato, marking a break with the humanistic emphasis on form. The favorite device of fictitious speeches placed on the lips of warrior kings, he seldom employed—"We shall omit the speech to the soldiers which Robertus Monachus attributes to the [general]". The order is chronological; there is no dramatic composition, no indication even of topical continuity. Von Sybel, studying Biondo on the Crusades, said that he copied good and bad indiscriminately, producing a confused and colorless narrative of inferior value. It would be fairer to appraise Biondo in the light of the attainments of the fifteenth century. Fueter considered him objective, lacking a superstitious awe of portents and legends.[10] He avoided the oratorical style, for his goal was a narrative based on the sources which he attempted to reconcile.

In his lifetime Biondo gained little fame. His services were unrewarded, but after his death it became apparent that he had broken fresh trails. In the geographical field, for instance, Fazello treated Sicily and Calabria, two provinces Biondo had not touched. There are traces of influence as far away as sixteenth-century England, where Leland planned, and Camden executed, an itinerary of the British Isles. Biondo himself claimed that his book was read in England, Spain, and France.[11]

This work marked the transition from the form of the chronicler to a form dependent upon investigation and comparison. The method of detachment, weighing of sources, eliminating the obviously fictitious heralded the advent of the scientific spirit. As Saitta has said, such a method would dethrone authoritarianism.[12] Modern historical writing can regard Biondo, with all his errors and crudities, as one of its architects.

While Biondo was a student, withdrawn from worldly activities, his contemporary Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini (d. 1464) was a courtier, making his way through shrewd ability. A long residence in Vienna, where he was attached to the court, created an opportunity for a study of the area and the history of its peoples. His literary interests were shown in a work on Frederick III, made up partly of his own essays of travel, partly of excerpts from local chronicles, and finally of an account of the hostilities between Frederick and the nobles of his eastern domain. In the preface to his next book, a history of

[10] E. Fueter, *Geschichte der neueren Historiographie* (Munich, 1936), p. 108.
[11] Nogara, *op. cit.*, p. cxi, note.
[12] G. Saitta, *Il pensiero italiano nell'umanesimo e nel Rinascimento* (Bologna, 1949), I, 188.

Bohemia, Aeneas noted that a preliminary sketch on Bohemia had been sent earlier to Cardinal Capranica.

In his opinion, no kingdom of the time had suffered so many changes, wars, devastations, and wonders as Bohemia. The first book covered geographical data and popular customs. The area was bounded, the extent of space indicated, the wooded nature of the region noted. From Moravia the waters drained northwestward to the Elbe, which cut through defiles to cross Saxony and empty into the ocean, running parallel to the Rhine. Prague, the capital, was as large as Florence.

The Bohemians traced their language to the confusion of tongues at the tower of Babel. From that place their ancestors had travelled by way of the Balkans to Bohemia. Aeneas, however, was unable to find authority for this claim. He commented that the Germans were satisfied if they could trace a descent from the Romans, the Romans from the Trojans, the Britons from Brutus. The Bohemians seemed to overdo matters, especially as they could not name their leader, their route, or the era of the migration. He dismissed the legend with scorn, applying logic to the tale of the earliest settlers, who supposedly consumed only wild produce and went about naked. Said Aeneas, it would be impossible for people coming from a milder area to endure the northern winter without protection.

The eponymous heroes Zech and Crocus he accepted with less caution, as well as a queen Libussa who, marrying Premysl, founded the dynasty. These figures appear in early chronicles, those of Cosmas, Dalimil, and Pribik, but Aeneas did not give credit, although he did refer to classical authors like Strabo for geography, or to Jordanes on migrations. In an essay on education Aeneas expressed an unfavorable opinion of Bohemian chronicles: "I would not permit . . . the histories of the Bohemians or Hungarians to be given to a boy . . . for they are written by the ignorant, containing many foolish things, many lies, no ornaments of style".[13] The rumors incident to the sudden death of King Ladislaus Aeneas reported, commenting that he was merely recording the words of others and wrote more than he believed, a favorite maxim from Quintus Curtius.

There are traces of sardonic humor. The northern army recruited to fight the Turks he described as composed of poor men who had taken up arms to seek the reward of eternal life; the wealthy, satisfied with existing conditions, stayed at home. Again, he praised the

[13] *De liberorum educatione*, ed. J. S. Nelson (Washington, 1940), p. 187.

conduct of both Hunyadi and Capistrano at the siege of Alba, but slyly added that in their written accounts neither mentioned the other, and each took all the credit for himself.

The plan for his *Cosmographia* was outlined in the preface: "We intend to narrate whatever deeds of this era seem worthy of notice, including a few earlier events which are relevant . . . We shall arrange the details under the appropriate location, starting with the eastern area . . . Anything about the nature of the inhabitants or the situation that is needful will be added. Furthermore, since the entire earth is the field of action, we must speak about the surrounding and intruding waters before we touch upon the history." During this same period Aeneas recast the first portion of Biondo's *Decades,* a pattern for his own historico-geographic treatise which he never had the leisure to complete. Among his sources were classical geographers and contemporary merchants.

His long residence at the imperial court brought him in contact with leading figures in the chancellery, German, Bohemian, Hungarian, and even Polish. Through them he exerted an influence on men like Sebastian Frank, Sebastian Munster, and Johannes Dlugosz.[14] His two histories were widely read in Germany and important in the formation of a new approach to history.

These three authors set a trend. Their Italian emulators dealt with (1) universal history or (2) a separate political unit or (3) biography. Representatives of the first group whose techniques did not differ greatly from medieval practices were, from Florence, archbishop Antonine (d. 1459), whose chronicle, compiled from early works, perpetuated the theory of the four monarchies and the six ages; Matteo Palmieri, who continued Prosper's chronicle to 1449, and prepared also a history of contemporary Florence and a life of Nicolai Acciaiuoli; Jacopo Filippo of Bergamo, an Augustinian who wrote a chronicle to 1493, historically unreliable, though arranged with some consideration of topical unity. A more specialized type of universal history was *De bello a Christianis contra barbaros gesto* by Benedetto Accolti of Arezzo (d. 1466), based largely on William of Tyre, Jacques de Vitry, and Marin Sanudo. The author was a Florentine official, well versed in the classics, with an elegant style, but an uncritical approach. This was a popular book, running to six Latin editions by 1623; it was translated into Italian, French, and Greek, and provided the inspiration for Tasso's *Jerusalem Delivered.*

[14] A. Berg, *Enea Silvio di Piccolomini in seiner Bedeutung als Geograph* (Halle, 1901), p. 37.

More typically humanist treatment is found in the *Compendium* of Roman history by Pomponio Leto (d. 1497), and the *Enneades* of his former student Sabellico. Leto had come under the influence of L. Valla at Rome, had established an academy to investigate antiquities, and had travelled to Venice, Byzantium, and Moscow. In his dedication, commenting upon the divergence among historians, he admitted the difficulty of maintaining an impartial attitude toward contemporary events, and avoided this by selecting a topic of the remote past. He approved the brevity of Sallust, while regretting that the simplicity of Cato and Fabius had gone forever. Livy, sometimes brief and sometimes too detailed, was more eloquent. Leto himself aspired to brevity with a touch of ornament, but placed his emphasis upon truth. He collected scattered material, though he confessed that for the earlier period, since records were lacking, he could affirm nothing with precision.

Marcantonio Sabellico (d. 1505) compiled over a long period a universal history from the creation to 1504. He followed annalistic order, relying upon Eusebius and his continuators, Paul the Deacon, Biondo, and Platina's *Lives*. As a compilation welding the reports of different writers, the work had some value. The author did not, however, evaluate his sources, and Giovio reproached him for undertaking a project so ambitious that it required condensation and resulted in obscurity. Notwithstanding these faults, the *Enneades* in ninety-two books were successful, appearing in several editions.

The most famous work of this author lies in the field of national history, *Historiae rerum Venetarum ab urbe condita libri XXXIII,* divided into decades. Venice was late in compiling its story, a fact deplored by Sabellico. He was officially employed, and, by searching through commentaries, organized the material to serve as a coherent account for later writers. An essay on the sources for the first decade has been published by R. Bersi.[15] Disregarding the author's own references to sources as indirectly acquired, Bersi found that Sabellico used Biondo, Benintendi da Ravagni, Obbone di Ravenna, and Lorenzo de Monacis. He borrowed a few facts from obscure Venetian chronicles and added some material obtained from local officials, but haste prevented him from consulting all available documents. Livy was his standard for form.

Investigation yields other authorities for the three following decades, all from small towns in the Venetian sphere of influence. Occasional reference was made to biographies, such as the life of

[15] R. Bersi, in *Nuovo Archivio Veneto,* N. S. (Ser. 3) XIX–XX (1910–1911).

Francesco Sforza and that of Pietro Mocenigo. Sabellico himself made a statement on his use of sources which reveals (1) what he recognized as theoretically desirable for a historian, and (2) what he knew was politically necessary for an official of the Venetian Republic. In Decade III, *lib.* viii he said: "I have organized this history along the following lines: no attempt has been made to support this or that fact by reference to a single source, but I have tried to base my account of outstanding events on the testimony of many authors. If anything was reported with wide variation, I followed the majority, or those whom I judged most reliable." In Decade I, however, he rejected the testimony of Biondo that Venice had surrendered to Pippin, observing "all historians of Venetian affairs positively deny that any surrender occurred".

The title of his work reveals the influence of Livy, who is mentioned in the first paragraph, as well as Polybius, Strabo, and other classical writers. He was interested in comparisons. The struggle between two mighty nations, Rome and Carthage, seemed to him a prototype of the prolonged wars between Genoa and Venice. He drew analogies between the magistrates and circumstances of ancient Rome and contemporary Venice; in his preface he claimed that for sanctity of laws, equity, integrity, and institutions, Venetian customs were not inferior to the Roman, but were even better. By 1487 hope for the revival of Rome had faded and among Italian cities Florence was making claim for her own priority. Sabellico entered the lists for Venice, and, having described her fight for survival and then for empire, when at times her outlook was brightened by divine intervention, he once more in his final pages suggested her right to be Rome's successor—"quo spectaculo judicavi, quantum belli molem Venetum imperium ad eam diem sustinesset." His particularist tendencies were of course displeasing to Florentine historians and to the pro-Florentine French.

Sabellico's Latinity is clear and good, the sentences perhaps not so ornate or so balanced as those of sixteenth-century humanists. A study of the writings of Livy, Justin, Florus, and Pliny, preliminary to annotations, aided in the development of his technique. The *Decades* were soon translated into Italian.

Five years after the appearance of the *Decades,* in a posthumous work, the statesman Bernardo Giustiniani offered an account of Venice's early days, up to 809. His preface contained some philosophical speculation on the duties of a historian, and mentioned both Herodotus and Thucydides. He then entered upon a careful de-

limitation and description of the area governed, rejecting on logical grounds the claims of Paul the Deacon, which had carried the early frontiers as far as Pannonia.

As for the population, since Livy, Pliny, and Quintus Curtius had traced their origin to Paphlagonia, while Caesar and Diodorus found the Veneti on the Atlantic coast, Giustiniani combined the two theories, making a composite race. Because many Venetian towns were built in marshland the author tried to justify necessity by alleging a greater healthfulness in the drainage of the ebb and flow of the tides. Inventive genius was, however, required to construct foundations for tall buildings.

Giustiniani discovered no contemporary authors for the period of settlement. For information on Attila, he used Iuventius Celius, who had based his biography on Priscus and Jordanes. Through observation and reasoning Giustiniani defended his account, adding at the end of the Book I that he had accepted whatever seemed more probable, weighed in accordance with the authority of the source. He was able to point out errors in Sabellico.

The transition in emphasis from form to content appears in Bernardo Rucellai's account of the French invasion. In 1495 he had discussed with Pontano the prose of classical historians—Caesar, Sallust, Livy, and Tacitus—and concluded that style must be adjusted to subject matter. In the report of this discussion, Pellegrini notes the neglect of the inner nature of history and the paramount interest in form.[16] In another circle, however, and at a later date, the problem of method in writing history was a matter of frequent debate in Rucellai's garden.[17] By 1509 Rucellai (d. 1514) had completed *De bello italico,* which followed the style of Sallust, according to Erasmus, but revealed a clear perception of contemporary political conditions, e.g. the Italian balance of power. Though Guicciardini thought Rucellai had great talent but indifferent judgment, he did not hesitate to draw upon Rucellai's work as a source.

Following Sabellico after a quarter century, Cardinal Bembo (d. 1547) undertook with reluctance a continuation of Venetian history, starting with 1486 and ending with the election of Leo X. In his preface he touched upon the topics a historian should cover: the wars on land and sea, the decrees, laws, and famous legal decisions of the Senate, the new magistrates, visiting monarchs, prodigies, storms, and

[16] G. Pellegrini, *L'umanista Bernardo Rucellai e le sue opere storiche* (Livorno, 1920), p. 19.

[17] F. Gilbert, "Bernardo Rucellai and the Orti Oricellari", *Jour. of the Warburg and Courtauld Inst.,* XII (1949), 127.

strange behavior of the planets. This mixture he produced, with little organization. He admitted that the many details of the wars bored him.

Unlike Sabellico he gave no sources in the text, but from official records and his own correspondence, we know that he had access to archives, had asked a relative to forward to him in Padua the chronicle of Giustiniani, Marcello's *De vitis principum,* Stella's epitome of Sabellico, and the chronicle of Navagero.[18] According to his biographer, Bembo used Caesar as a model, finding his prose clear and well-organized.[19] His own arrangement, however, is chronological; slightly more attention is given to economic matters than in Sabellico, in keeping with the increasing activity. There are some details on legislation and a good description of measures taken to protect Venice under threat of siege. In Book VI he devoted ten folio pages to the voyages of discovery—to Columbus, Magellan, the Portuguese visits to the East Indies, and the surprising customs of the West Indians. He noted sadly the disastrous effects of Portuguese competition upon the Venetian spice trade. On the voyages his informant was his correspondent Oviedo.

As papal secretary, Bembo was an accomplished Latin stylist. His prose is elaborated with the classical embellishment of fictitious harangues. This was defended as a means of introducing analysis, forecast, and summary. His book, in Italian as well as in Latin, was frequently reprinted. The series was continued by Paruta, who began to work in Latin, but completed his account in the vernacular.

Biography is not included in the plan of this essay. It should be stated, however, that lives of famous men formed a link in the development of historiography. When theological concerns determined the character of historical writing, hagiography was an essential branch. From this type it was an easy transition to lives of the popes, and then of bishops. Bartolommeo Sacchi (d. 1481), known as Platina, a member of the Roman Academy of Pomponio Leto, was commissioned to write a *Vitae pontificum* from Christ to Sixtus IV. He drew upon many sources, such as William of Tyre, Robert the Monk, Aeneas Silvius, whose geographical works he mentioned in his preface, and Biondo. This book was liberally used by later writers, even in Germany.

The secular trends shifted biographical interest to the laity, fol-

[18] C. Lagomaggiore, "L'istoria viniziana di M. Pietro Bembo", *Nuovo Archivio Veneto,* N.S. (Ser. 3) IX (1905), 33 ff.

[19] L. Beccadelli, *Le istorie Veneziana* . . . (Venice, 1718), introduction, p. xli.

lowing the model set by Petrarch. In Milan Giovanni Simonetta (d. 1491) wrote of Francesco Sforza, whose campaigns he had accompanied. The author asserted that he described only those events which he had either personally viewed or which had been attested by many authorities, even by Sforza himself. The style might lack elegance, but the account was trustworthy.

Galeazzo Capella (d. 1537), who supported the claims of Francesco Sforza II, dealt with the wars fought by the papacy, the French, the Venetians, and the emperor between 1521 and 1530. The preface declared the subject was no less useful than pleasing and was recounted both elegantly and truthfully. It would be shocking, added the author, to give a false report when the actors for the most part were still alive. "Buy it, read it, you will be improved and entertained", pleads the title page.[20]

Giorgio Merula (d. 1494), though he carried on a controversy with regard to rigorous historical method, was actually a less effective historian than either. He compiled the legendary annals of the Visconti family, continued by Calchi (d. 1516) in annalistic style.

Jacopo Bracelli (d. 1466), a Genoese, following the example of Petrarch, wrote *De claris Genuensibus,* and a *Liguriae descriptio,* dedicated to Biondo. The theme of the conquest of Naples from the French by the Spanish won the attention not only of natives but also of Bracelli. His chief work was *De bello Hispano,* dealing with the war in which Genoa supported French claims against Alfonso of Aragon. It was based on official documents accessible to him as chancellor, and presents a logical and at times dramatic story.

Two names of significance for historiography are associated with fifteenth-century Naples. Lorenzo Valla (d. 1457), whose testing of tradition marked an era in criticism, was author of a minor life of Ferdinand, Alfonso's father. Paolo Giovio, condemning the style, could hardly believe it was written by the man who had laid down rules of elegance for others. The second historian was Giovanni Pontano (d. 1503), an Umbrian appointed to office by King Alfonso. He had studied under the Greeks resident in Naples and became a member of the circle of Panormitano, author of another life of Alfonso. Pontano had practical experience as a diplomat, was a minor historian, but above all a poet and rhetorician. His dialogue "Actius" discussed the nature of historical writing, considering its relation to truth and to eloquence. Pontano composed a life of Ferdinand, son of Alfonso, covering the war with Jean of Anjou, 1460–65. The first

[20] *De rebus nuper in Italia gestis ll. octo* (Nuremberg, 1532), title page.

pages give a survey of the invasions of Italy from the fall of Rome to Alfonso of Aragon, then a more detailed sketch of the political structure and mutual relations of the city-states, with some attention to economic matters in Venice and to culture in Florence and Naples.

The series of conquests, Phoenician, Roman, Gothic, and Arabic, to which the Iberian peninsula had been subjected resulted in segmentation and delayed the development of a national historiography. There were lacunae in the story which chroniclers could fill only with figments of ingenuity. When delusions about the revival of the Roman Empire still influenced their thinking, Spanish authors associated themselves with late classical and early medieval Europe; when political conditions had given a thrust to their national vanity, the desire to outstrip the Italians in antiquity of race made historians ascribe the settlement of Spain to Tubal Cain, grandson of Noah.[21] Hercules also appeared in the picture, sometimes as hero, sometimes as villain, the conqueror of the native shepherd-leader Geryon. From Atlas, brother of an early king Hesperus, was descended Dardanus, the *later* colonizer of Italy and founder of Troy.

The thirteenth century produced two ecclesiastical chroniclers, Lucas of Tuy and Roderick of Toledo. Alfonso the Learned ordered a history composed in the vernacular. This set a pattern for two hundred years. It was not until Spanish scholars had visited the Rome of Nicholas V that Latin again became the medium and more abundant sources were used. Peninsular authors resented the Italian attitude toward Spain, "that far corner of the world", and shifted their emphasis from classical to native origins. At the start of the fifteenth century, when France and England were exhausting their strength in a series of wars, conditions were favorable for further Spanish expansion in the western Mediterranean. The conquest of southern Italy was effected by Alfonso of Aragon, who already controlled adjacent islands. Chroniclers readjusted their focus, abandoning ties with the empire to assert the independence of Hispania.

Alfonso of Carthagena (d. 1456), bishop of Burgos and chronicler of Castile, attended the Council of Basel, making an appeal to uphold the precedence of Spain over England. Jewish in origin, he was a classical scholar, the translator of Cicero's rhetorical essays and a portion of Seneca. His chief historical work was the *Anacephaleosis*. It is an account of the kings of Spain, the Roman emperors, the popes,

[21] On the subject of Noah's alleged settlement of Europe see D. C. Allen, *The Legend of Noah* (Urbana, 1949), p. 117.

and the kings of France, which he planned for use in the monastic library, making it, as he said in his preface, shorter than a history, but longer than a genealogy. Little space was devoted to the early period—the Carthaginians appeared on the fourth page—though he depicted Geryon as a tyrant who was overcome by a Hercules fresh from exploits overseas. The first king was the eponymous Hispanus, nephew of Hercules, data taken by the author from Roderick of Toledo. For the kings of the seventh century onwards, Alfonso gave a personal description, evidently from colored miniatures, as well as the names of contemporary rulers in other lands.[22]

Ruy Sánchez de Arévalo (d. 1470), who had spent some years in Rome, composed a *Historia Hispanica,* in which the introductory sections were devoted to geographic, economic, and racial considerations. He hastened over the misty eras to place his emphasis upon the Visigothic invaders. Hercules and his shadowy colleagues he barely mentioned, turning away from classical associations to glorify Viriatus, the native leader against the Romans. The Goths, he said, on the authority of Martin of Troppau, originated in Scandia or northern Scythia. Since they had conquered the Spanish, he sought to mitigate the dishonor by praising their exploits and by listing the great heroes, Darius, Pyrrhus, Alexander, and even Caesar, who had hesitated to face them. After they had settled in Spain, they accepted western culture and the conventional virtues.

Lack of peninsular unity troubled Ruy Sánchez, who as bishop of Palencia advanced the claims to hegemony of Leon-Castile, tracing the line from contemporary monarchs back to the Gothic dynasty. In the preface to Book III he outlined his ideals of historiography: "For the greater decoration of history we shall include some famous deeds and comparisons, memorable acts and words, from the Scriptures as well as from the annals of Romans and Greeks, adding . . . certain moral teachings suited to the matter under discussion".

Juan Margarit y Pau (d. 1484), bishop of Gerona, a Catalan, was, like Ruy Sánchez, critical of invaders, even if mythical. Though Renaissance scholarship had revealed additional classical material, valuable as sources for Iberian origins, Margarit, churchman and patriot, preferred to follow early Christian authority, which condemned gods and demigods as immoral. This meant support of Geryon versus the Greek heroes. There is pronounced Italianate influence in this author. He had studied canon law at the University of

22 For many of these Spanish histories see A. Schottus, *Hispania illustrata* (Frankfort, 1603).

Bologna; he had resided in Rome. At the Congress of Mantua, he had encountered the future Pius II, Cardinal Bessarion, Flavio Biondo, and other scholars. The historical writings of Leonardo Bruni, still in manuscript, were known to him.

In the preliminary remarks to his *Paralipomenon* Margarit called attention to Trogus Pompey, Orosius, and the medieval Isidore, approving their writings while regretting the scant notice given to their native Spain. The chronicle of Roderick was rated tolerable, the others beneath consideration. In contrast to their neglect, he himself planned to emphasize domestic matters. The title *Paralipomenon,* meaning an omission, was borrowed from the term applied to Old Testament *Chronicles.* It was intended to cover the nearly uncharted period before the Visigoths, reaching the reign of Theodosius and his two sons. For sources Margarit used classical historians and geographers, adding such later authors as Petrarch, Boccaccio, and Bruni. Charts used by mariners were accessible, and the author was able to apply ocular evidence, gained from his considerable travels. In the dedication to Ferdinand and Isabella, he expressed joy at the union of Aragon and Castile, making comparison with the united Spains under Augustus. Because of difficulties in the Neapolitan area, this Aragonese writer was anti-French and of course resisted French claims to the neighboring province of Rousillon, which his classical sources had allotted to Iberia. *Paralipomenon* remained in manuscript until 1545, and achieved recognition only in the last century as a herald of humanism in Spain.[23]

Less conspicuous was the *Antiquitates Hispaniae gentis* of Alfonso de Palencia (d. 1492), who also had visited Italy, coming into contact with Bessarion and George of Trebizond. Increasing interest in the classics led him to translate Plutarch. Another work, the *Gesta Hispaniensia,* dealing with contemporary events and the intrigues revolving around Henry IV of Castile, shows that the author's viewpoint was hostile to the king. Unlike the clerical historians he wrote originally in the vernacular, then translated into Latin.

At the end of the fifteenth century Annius of Viterbo produced his commentary, allegedly containing new portions of ancient authors. This included material on Iberia from Berosus, giving that land great antiquity, and was extremely popular in the peninsula.

The Sicilian portion of the Aragonese empire had its story told by Michael Riccio (d. 1515) in *De regibus Siciliae,* which gave a coherent account from the end of the Roman empire. This was sepa-

[23] R. B. Tate, "Joan Margarit i Pau, bishop of Gerona," *Speculum,* XXVII (1952), 29.

rated logically into sections: the first ended with the Hohenstaufens; the second dealt with the French conquest, closing with the victory of Alfonso V of Aragon; the third covered the descendents of Alfonso to the triumph of Ferdinand.

In *De regibus Hispanorum* Riccio started with the mythical Geryon and Abbis, giving Diodorus as his source, but added pointedly, "I should not believe this, if the worthy Trogus did not support him". He proceeded through the hegemonies of Carthage, Rome, and the Visigoths to the ultimate subdivisions, following, as he stated in his preface, the royal lines of Leon and Castile, whence the Christian kings were descended.

Riccio had been exiled from Naples for his pro-French sympathies, and fled to Paris, where he became councilor to Louis XII. *De regibus Francorum,* dedicated to the French chancellor, carried an introductory epistle by Parrhasius, a former associate of Pontano. Riccio regarded the Franks as German, on the authority of Agathias. According to vulgar notions, Riccio reported, they came to the Seine under the leadership of Marcomer, father of Pharamond, of Priam's house. In deference to French susceptibilities, the author, despite his Italian birth, presented Charlemagne in a favorable light, not as an invader, but as the champion of the papacy against the barbarians. This book also was logically organized according to royal dynasties, ending with Louis XII. From the same pen we have (in Latin) the *Kings of Hungary* and the *Kings of Jerusalem.*

Another Italian of the south, who spent his life abroad, not in France but in Spain, was Lucio Marineo (d. 1533), a former professor at Palermo. Later he taught at Salamanca as a colleague of Lebrija. In his dedication to Charles V and Isabella, he stated that he had spent nearly half a century in Spain, travelling to obtain evidence for a geographical description. To gain wider knowledge and the support of learned men, he had read many books of the ancients.

The first sections of *De rebus Hispaniae memorabilibus* appear to be modeled on the work of Biondo, even containing a reference to Ablabius, whom Biondo found in Jordanes. The author, however, referred to Raphael Volaterranus as his main source for early history. He applied critical faculty to the Hercules story, adding that many people felt it was a fable and suggesting that the bridges and other edifices attributed to Hercules were really of Roman construction. On the other hand the fictions of Annius led him to accept many rulers who had never existed. The Franco-Aragonese struggle in southern Italy was incorporated in the story of Spain, as well as the

complicated politics of the civil war between John II of Aragon and his elder son.

Alongside the stream of Neo-Latin histories, chiefly by ecclesiastical authors, ran another in the vernacular, in the pattern set by Alfonso the Learned. One of these chroniclers, Hernan de Pulgar (d. 1493), official historian of the Catholic kings, composed an account of Castile to 1490. This manuscript the author gave to Lebrija (d. 1522), who rearranged the material and translated it into Latin. The book, published in 1545, was for long attributed to Lebrija, one of the foremost exponents of humanism in Spain. A residence of ten years at Bologna had prepared him to introduce the literary ideals of the Renaissance, but his claim as initiator has been dimmed by the later discovery of Margarit's *Paralipomenon*.

The Jesuit Mariana (d. 1607), though he lived at a later period, did not show marked improvement over Margarit. It is true that he attacked Annius of Viterbo, but he also utilized some of Annius' material; he recognized that national vanity had created fictions, yet he continued to pamper it. Georges Cirot has published Mariana's own list of sources, classical, medieval, and contemporary, amounting to over two hundred. The work as originally planned was to stop with the conquest of Granada, but Mariana continued it through the death of Ferdinand in 1516, including some data on the discoveries, drawn from Gómara and Maffei. The arrangement was chronological; the author stated that he had employed the style of a journal, giving the sequence of events and touching upon the outcome, but omitting causes and purpose, lest he should intrude his own judgment. That judgment does, however, shine through clearly. Using this historical medium, he inculcated moral lessons: a powerful king was needed to prevent human discord; sinners were punished by subjection to foreign foes. His style contemporary criticism placed between the prose of Sallust and that of Livy, fairly close to the Tacitean.

Portuguese Latin historiography lists only a few names, among them André Resende and Duarte Nunes. There was a splendid production of literature on discoveries and travel, and some local history written in Portuguese.

In France the tradition of history in Latin was preserved in monasteries, conspiciously at St. Denis. From the twelfth century the monks of St. Denis compiled the *Historia regum Francorum,* upon which were based the *Grandes Chroniques*. For those who could not

read Latin, the *chansons de geste* told parts of the story. The Crusades provided inspiration for historical composition, but the vehicle was again the vernacular as in the case of Villehardouin and Joinville. The comparative paucity of Neo-Latin history was due in part to the vigor of the literature in the native tongue, as well as to the late dawning of the classical revival in France. Between Italy and France the Burgundian court, with its major cities at Dijon and Bruges, contributed its share of historians using French, such as Froissart, Monstrelet, Chastellain, and Commines.

In Normandy, the main theater of hostilities in the fifteenth century, poetic tales about Brutus and Frankish origins had long been current. The contemporaries of the Hundred Years' War were, however, more factual. Robert Blondel (d. after 1460), born in the Cotentin and driven into Brittany at an early age by the English invaders, nursed his family's wrongs and used his pen to enlist support for the reconquest of his native province. He wrote a poem calling upon King Charles to drive out the aggressor, and later an *Oratorio historialis,* depicting the atrocities committed by the foe. After the withdrawal of the English, Blondel composed an account of the last two years of campaigning, *De reductione Normanniae,* starting with the surprise attack on Fougères in 1449.

We know nothing of his education. He held office in the household of the widowed duchess of Anjou, mother of the French queen, and was later tutor to a son of Charles VII. In his opening remarks he revealed analytic capacity, for he divided his work into the initial stage, violation of the truce, then the struggle to regain the loss, subdivided into a diplomatic and a military phase. The tale is graphically portrayed, although the Latin is somewhat involved. Personal emotion is the driving force, with the high spot the siege of Rouen. French success in stirring the inhabitants to revolt was due to the intervention of Providence, and the achievements of Jeanne d'Arc were likewise divinely inspired. Blondel drew a comparison between the serenity and equanimity of Charles and the cruelty of the English Henry. This history relied upon personal and contemporary sources and was obviously propagandist. The author indulged in invective, apostrophe, direct speeches and other rhetorical devices. In his exordium he stated that the style must be suited to the dignity of the subject.

Twenty-odd years later than Blondel, but again in Normandy, at Caudebec, was born Thomas Basin (d. 1491), who was trained in the law at Louvain and Bologna, travelled as far as Hungary, and be-

came bishop in the Norman diocese of Lisieux. His attendance at the Council of Ferrara-Florence in 1438 brought him into contact with Greek and Italian scholars.

A preliminary study of the trial of Jeanne d'Arc prepared the way for his history of the reigns of Charles VII and Louis XI, written in retirement in Utrecht and Trèves, after his flight from the wrath of Louis. He started with conditions under Charles VI, explaining the enmity between Burgundy and Orleans on personal grounds, with clever characterization of the French prince. In the ensuing war Basin's sympathies were with France, although he retained enough objectivity to gauge the royal policy. Remodeling of the law courts he approved; unlimited taxation and debauchery earned his censure. Some attention was given to military preparations and to industry. We are told that the Norman woolen workers fled to Brittany, where they taught their trade to the Bretons. His overall point of view is that of a baron of the church, applying political sagacity to the regrouping of forces. He dared to resist King Louis, spending his last years under Burgundian protection, and consequently his account of Louis was so unfavorable that the French editors of his history deleted the diatribes.

The *Grandes Chroniques,* Monstrelet, and his own recollections provided source material. Providential intervention was occasionally alleged as cause. The defeat at Agincourt on St. Crispin's day was consequent upon French pillage of the monastery at Soissons where the saint's body was interred. Said Basin, "A man is free to think as he pleases. Our task is to record the facts; we do not presume to discuss the impenetrable ways of God." As for style, Samaran, Basin's recent editor, noting improvement over the form of monastic annals and whispers of the coming Renaissance, complained of an insupportable cascade of synonyms.[24] Basin's *De rebus gestis* . . . was for long attributed to the Belgian Jacob Meyer. The manuscript, with notations in Basin's hand, was preserved in Göttingen, where Samaran used it in 1933.

Another jurist and ecclesiastic turned historian was Robert Gaguin (d. 1501), born in Flanders. He studied Greek under Tifernas in Paris, where he lived after 1457. Classical interests led him to translate Caesar, the third decade of Livy, Justin, Lucan, and a portion of Strabo. A copy of Ptolemy's *Geographia* was in his library in the Mathurin cloister. As an ecclesiastic he visited Italy, Spain,

[24] Thomas Basin, *Histoire de Charles VII* (in Latin and in French), ed. and tr. Ch. Samaran (Paris, 1933), introduction, p. xvii.

Germany, and Britain. Sent by Louis XI on a mission to Burgundy, he failed in his objective and won the ill favor of the king. "Posterity would be surprised at the true report of this reign", he wrote privately, after Louis's death.[25]

His purpose in writing a history of France was to recall the heroic careers of Clovis, Lothair, and Pippin. Vague tales about Trojan settlement he treated with skepticism. "The French, like many other nations, boast that they are descended from the Trojans. Their true origins, however, I have not ascertained", said he, though he relied upon Caesar's account and imitated Caesar's style. An educated man, he was able to make use of many sources, ancient as well as contemporary Italian and French. His annotated copy of the *Grandes Chroniques* was preserved in Mazarin's collection. The most valuable sections of his *Compendium* are the accounts of the reigns of Charles VIII and Louis XII, of which the author was an eyewitness. Somewhat circuitously he outlined the foreign policy of Charles, with its concession to neighboring rulers in order to protect the frontiers while the king fought for the Neapolitan throne. Gaguin in two passages indicated that Parlement and the councilors were opposed to this adventurous policy. He hastened over the actual campaign, alleging a French victory in the disputed battle of Fornovo, and devoted more space to the funeral rites of Charles.

While he discussed, here and there, the Italian war under command of Louis, Gaguin was interested in domestic events. He described at length the controversy between the king and the university, which resisted a curtailment of its privileges, only to yield finally to a *lit de justice*. From this constitutional issue Gaguin turned to the collapse of the bridge at Paris, a calamity attributed to graft among maintenance officials. There is some picturesque detail in this section, though the author was evidently hurrying to end his *Compendium*. He threw in an approving comment on the lowering of taxes, a hasty glance at the Milanese war and the vices of Italians, a list of the Flemings at the court, and a farewell to the reader. "This is what I have selected from the accumulation of Frankish annals. Read if it suits you. At all events, do not detract from my just labors in the public interests."

As general of the Order of Trinitarians he had had administrative experience and favored the policies of Louis XII. His patriotism led him to vilify other nationals. He made severe comments on the ingratitude of Henry VII, adding that the king was more peaceably

[25] Robert Gaguin, *Epistolae et orationes*, ed. L. Thuasne (Paris, 1903), I, 45.

inclined than his bellicose subjects. Gaguin's attitude toward Spain was resented by Vives, while Giovio complained that in matters regarding contemporary Italy he made such errors that those who saw no beauty in his style were offended by his ignorance. Joachimsen, in his analysis of German historians,[26] gave credit to Gaguin for candor about the battle of Courtrai, where the flower of the French nobility was laid low by the Flemish pikemen. This apparent impartiality might be explained by Gaguin's Flemish origin.

One of the major results of the invasion of Italy was the inflow of Renaissance ideals into France. The royal secretary Nicholas Gilles had prepared a new edition of the *Grandes Chroniques;* the king, on the recommendation of the bishop of Paris, invited Paolo Emilio of Verona to trace the development of the French nation, granting him the revenues of a canonate to support the venture. Paul Émile (d. 1529) spent at least twenty years on *De rebus Francorum gestis.* The work appeared in sections, the last part published posthumously. To origins he allotted eleven lines. "The French claim that they are sprung from Troy." In noncommittal vein he retailed the story: a band of warriors fled to Maeotia where they stayed until the era of Valentinian. Friction with Rome caused them to move to Franconia. Later they crossed the Rhine to Gaul. Paul Émile's authorities were Caesar and Jerome. The Franks remained obscure until the strength of Rome had been sapped by civil war; then their sudden appearance gave rise to surmise about their race.

The author's Italian ties caused him to dwell upon the barbarian inroads into his native land and subsequent Gothic conquests in Aquitaine and Spain. He even touched upon disturbances in far-off Britain. This section attempted to place France in its international setting, and may have had Biondo as its source. A passage more narrowly French covered the defeat of Attila, the reign of Clovis, the significance of his conversion, and his treaty with the Burgundians.

Paul Émile supported the policy of Charlemagne, approving his conquests in Saxony, Spain, and Italy. Since the soldiers and their leader were German in speech and equipment, the Saxons were easily assimilated. The cruelty of the men was contrasted with the clemency of Charles, who introduced Frankish laws and agnatic succession to his new subjects resettled in Belgic Gaul. A system of courts, with appeal to the ruler, insured equitable treatment for all. Peace and victory were not appreciated by the Franks, eager for

[26] P. Joachimsen, *Geschichtsauffassung und Geschichtschreibung in Deutschland unter dem Einflusse des Humanismus* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1910), p. 72.

martial adventure, so they turned southward. The author noted that the Pyrenees fortified Spain much as the Alps protected Italy. He paid no heed to Roland, though he mentioned bishop Turpin and referred to the ancient annals of the Navarrese which he had consulted, as well as a great variety of authors, French, Latin, and Spanish.

For Italy he used Paul the Deacon in a manuscript which he complained had suffered many alterations. A viceroy was placed in Milan, the second city of Italy, the crossroads of the west, as Ravenna served the east. Charlemagne was crowned by the pope with the approval of the princes, who felt it would be more dignified to serve beneath an emperor than a king. By virtue of his military prowess, he was able to strengthen his empire by new laws and to rebuild the ancient glory of Rome. Thus there might be unity on earth, as in Heaven. The work closed with an account of Charles VIII's war with Brittany in 1488. Various continuators added supplements. Despite the author's critical attitude toward legendary figures, the printer included marginal representations of all the French kings, beginning with Pharamond.

Polydore Vergil, an Italian resident in England, commented that Latin and Greek culture, hampered in Italy by constant warfare, was spreading abroad into Germany, France, England, and Scotland. The Germans, as soon as they began to acquire this learning, altered from the most illiterate of peoples, to become the most learned of all.[27] At the dissolution of the monasteries, Leland, bemoaning the loss of manuscripts, complained to Cromwell that the Germans daily sent scholars to gather them from libraries.[28] At the end of the fifteenth century, according to Joachimsen, German compilers of universal history still borrowed from Martin of Troppau, Vincent of Beauvais, or Ptolemy of Lucca. In this they resembled the more conservative Italians like Jacopo Filippo of Bergamo. Their concept of universality, while originating in their church, was furthered by the claims of the imperial house. Local history was represented by the city chronicle which appeared in areas where trade flourished. The most famous of these was the Strassburg chronicle of Jacob Twinger of Königshofen (d. 1420).

A reform in the Benedictine order, starting from Padua, spread to Austria and the Rhineland, bringing with it humanistic ideals

[27] P. Vergil, *Anglica Historia,* ed. D. Hay (Camden Soc., 3d Ser., LXXIV, 1950), p. 145. The statement quoted is a variant reading from an early printed edition.

[28] To Thomas Cromwell, July 1536. *DNB* under John Leland.

which affected the monkish chroniclers. Sigismund Meisterlin (d. circa 1489), a Benedictine in Augsburg who had travelled extensively in the empire, crossed the Alps to Padua in the course of monastic business. He was acquainted with the works of Italian historians, notably Aeneas Silvius and Biondo, the classics Sallust and Pliny, and medieval compilators. His Augsburg chronicle, covering southern Germany, rejected some legends, accepted others, and dwelt at length upon the defeat of Varus. His second work, a chronicle of Nuremberg, is less discursive, giving archaeological evidence for the old town as well as a description of the new.

Two journeys to the Holy Land offered to the Dominican Felix Faber (d. 1502) the occasion for his *Evagatorium,* a travelogue which leaned heavily upon the *Europa* of Aeneas Silvius, and embodied a sketch of the history of Ulm.

Abbot Trithemius of Sponheim (d. 1516), another Benedictine, was sufficiently in tune with the revival of learning to seek additional source material for the migrations. From Celtis and Reuchlin he had acquired an acquaintance with Greek and Hebrew, while his fine library at Sponheim also showed classical tastes. The *Catalogus illustrium virorum Germanorum* followed the lines set by Petrarch and more recently by Platina, with material from Vincent of Beauvais, Aeneas Silvius, and Gaguin. He composed also the *Chronicon Monasterii Hirsaugiensis,* a history of the abbey from 830 to 1514. Among his sources were Lambert of Hersfeld, Liutprand of Cremona, and Peter Damiani.

The research of Trithemius had uncovered a record by Hunibald, an alleged contemporary of Clovis. Upon this fabricated basis the abbot built up a history of the Frankish race, adding data from Freculf of Lisieux, Regino of Prym, Flodoard, and Richer. According to his *Compendium,* the Frankish kingdom had existed before the Roman Empire. The Carolingian period represented the conquest of Rome by these Franks, whose lawful successors were the German emperors. This question of the origin of the empire leads to the matter of the main topics discussed by German historians of the period.

Historical activity, fertilized by concepts carried over the Alps, spread along two avenues within Germany: the upper Rhine valley with Alsatia on the left bank and Württemberg near the right, and the Austro-Bavarian sector in the southeast. Treatises on German topics by Aeneas Silvius had stressed geographical and national, as distinct from world, history. Biondo also placed emphasis on geogra-

phy with an archaeological slant that had sought the support of epigraphical and documentary evidence. Impelled by the new historiography, German authors, whose cultural interests were diverse, devoted themselves to the elucidation of a half-dozen problems: (1) the origin of the earliest tribes, (2) old versus new frontiers, (3) the defeat of Varus, (4) the relation between the Roman empire and the German, (5) the Turkish threat, (6) lives of illustrious men. An objective agreed upon by many, and attempted in a fragmentary way, was a *Germania illustrata* on the model of Biondo's *Italia.* The versatility of their talents, however, militated against completion of any one task, for biographical works overlapped with geographical, only to be thrust aside for philological or juridical analyses.

The Rhenish city of Strassburg was the fusion point for humanism from Italy, spiritual inspiration from the Netherlands, and artistic development from the Burgundian realm, merged after 1478 into the Hapsburg heritage. Moving from west to east, we start with the group at Schlettstadt, Brant (d. 1521), Wimpfeling (d. 1528), and Rhenanus (d. 1547). Brant produced, in addition to the *Narrenschiff,* a chronicle from the creation which, on the authority of Caesar, Strabo, Pliny, and Tacitus, set the frontiers of primitive Germany, and proclaimed the Germanity of his own countrymen, the inhabitants of Alsatia. A better-known book, perhaps the first attempt at a national history, was the *Epitoma rerum Germanicarum* of Wimpfeling.[29] Like Trithemius, he had studied theology at Heidelberg. He was familiar with Italian models, and hoped that his history might rank with those of Platina, Sabellico, Aeneas, Gaguin, and Thurocz. The task was first undertaken by Sebastian Murrho, whom Wimpfeling encouraged, observing that Romans, Venetians, English, Hungarians, Czechs, and French were reading their own history, whereas the Germans were left uninformed. After Murrho's death Wimpfeling remodeled the material and published it in 1505.

Like Brant, he was eager to defend the German character of Alsatia, as well as the superior merits of the early Germans. His nationalist attitude was supported by reference to Caesar, Strabo, Plutarch, and Tacitus as well as to medieval chroniclers. Ariovistus was the first German king. Varus was not the only warrior defeated by German hosts. They had also driven off Alexander, Darius, Cyrus, and Lysimachus of Thrace. Karl the Great was a German, on the authority of Biondo and Gaguin. Therefore the imperial dignity

[29] On Wimpfeling, see A. Horawitz, "Nationale Geschichtschreibung im 16ten Jahrhundert", *Historische Zeitschrift,* XXV (1871).

had now *returned* whence it had come. A recital of the deeds of the Kaisers followed, with data applying mostly to Italy up to 1254, then onward to Maximilian, hailed as a descendant of Karl. Wimpfeling's theory of causation was providential intervention. Like the Italians he paid some attention to art and to industry, such as type-founding and printing. He made no attempt to criticize his sources, though he apparently tried to achieve impartiality between church and state. On a smaller scale, as in his *Lives* of the bishops of Strassburg, he was more convincing historically.

The ablest critic of sources was Beatus Rhenanus, who had been a student in Paris under Lefèvre d'Etaples and spent years in Basel, where his editorial labors on editions of the classics won him fame. He had studied Greek with the Amerbachs and was acquainted with Erasmus, whose influence shaped his philosophy. Under his supervision the works of Tacitus were published—*Agricola, Germania, De oratoribus, Historia,* and *Annales,* the last from a manuscript he had discovered in Buda. In the dedication to the *Annales* he made a comparison between Tacitus and Livy, preferring the former because he did not stress war, yet gave important information not found elsewhere. The Livian prose, however, was more natural and pleasantly fluent. In composing *Rerum Germanicarum libri III* Rhenanus used the method of Biondo. He knew that the old races could not be traced in the new tribes, that their positions had shifted, and that some groups had disappeared. In his dedication he stated that facts could be gleaned from reliable authors, if supplemented by inferences drawn by one's own judgment. From the accounts of medieval writers like Ausonius, Sidonius, and Martianus Capella, it would be possible to clarify the ancients, Ptolemy, Cicero, Strabo, Pliny and Tacitus.[30]

The work starts with a consideration of the geography and ancient peoples of the Germanic area. Language was a distinguishing feature. The Gauls spoke a different tongue from the Germans, but the Franks used the same. Contemporary diocesan limits were guides to Roman administrative units. The migrations of the German races into Italy, Gaul, Britain, and Spain had left vacant areas filled in by Slavs and other Gauls. Rhenanus avoided any discussion of the rightfulness of Charlemagne's imperial title. After the decline of the Carolingians German liberties developed under the Saxon kings.

[30] On Beatus Rhenanus, see G. C. Knod, *Aus der Bibliothek des Beatus Rhenanus* (Schlettstadt, 1889), and A. Horawitz, "Des Beatus Rhenanus litterarische Tätigkeit", *Sitzungberichte der K. Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Phil.-Hist. Klasse,* LXXI (1872).

The latter half of the book is composed of essays on related subjects, the raw material for a history. The author endeavored to formulate rules for changes in language, was objective and rational, rejecting myths, and accepted the pacific and cultural position of Erasmus.

In Tübingen in the Black Forest Nauclerus (d. 1510), a doctor of canon law, remodeled existing records to form a chronicle from the creation. His point of view was medieval, but he had access to sources now lost and his work is therefore of value. Lactantius, Ekkehard, William of Tyre, Otto of Freising, papal letters and inscriptions were drawn upon, as well as the false Berosus of Annius of Viterbo. The author showed mild analytic capacity in the separation of topics, and attempted characterization after the manner of Plutarch. He was the teacher of Coccinius, who also originated at Tübingen, studied law in Vienna, and had travelled as far as Italy. A documented essay by Coccinius, *De imperii a Graecis ad Germanos translatione . . .*, belittled French claims. Like Wimpfeling he was interested in the Rheinland, maintaining its German essence.

The second area of humanist activity drew inspiration from Venetian sources through the intermediary of the monastery at Melk. While scientific studies in Bavaria outweighed literary, patriotism led nevertheless to some historical endeavor. In Nuremberg Hartman Schedel (d. 1514), a contemporary of Nauclerus, compiled in the same decade a chronicle of similar type. Schedel, a former student in Padua, was a practising physician whose leisure was spent with a group devoted to humanist learning. His *Liber chronicarum,* decorated with Wolgemut's engravings, dealt with universal history from Adam to Maximilian, listing the popes, the emperors, and other rulers. Joachimsen labeled Schedel's book a mere reworking of Jacopo Filippo of Bergamo. There are extracts also from Orosius, Vincent of Beauvais, Martin of Troppau, Platina, Biondo, and Aeneas Silvius. One of Schedel's rare expressions of opinion traced the German Empire to Roman sources, minimizing papal claims. For the Turkish menace, he advocated a crusade jointly organized by pope and Kaiser. Although his work was even more medieval than that of Nauclerus, it was promptly translated, to reach a wider audience.

One of Schedel's close associates, Conrad Celtis (d. 1508), can hardly be classed as historian, since he left no completed work precisely in that field. His activities, however, did much to further enthusiasm for archaeology, and for a work on Germany similar to Biondo's *Italia illustrata.* After student days in Heidelberg he visited

Rome, Florence, Bologna, Ferrara, and Venice, meeting scholars, notably Pomponio Leto, whose academy became the model for many founded in Germany by Celtis. Later he moved to Cracow, where the university was a center for scientific studies, then to Hungary, to Tübingen, and back to Heidelberg, looking everywhere for manuscripts and Roman remains. As preliminary studies for the projected *Germania illustrata* he prepared geographical treatises, *Germania generalis,* going back to the creation, and *De origine, situ, et moribus Norimbergae.*

The influence of Leto appeared also in Celtis's friend Conrad Peutinger (d. 1547), who studied law at Padua under Jason of Mayno, and visited Florence and Rome, where Pomponio taught him the significance of inscriptions. He returned to Augsburg to become an imperial official under Maximilian. Despite his many duties he devoted time to seeking and editing historical material. Two early works indicate his interest in German antiquities: *Romanae vetustatis fragmenta in Augusta Vindelicorum,* and *Sermones convivales de mirandis Germaniae antiquitatibus.* He maintained the thesis that the Rheinland towns, even in Caesar's time, had belonged to the German kings and later to the Roman emperors. This view was documented by reference to Latin authors as well as to the false Berosus. Peutinger was skeptical, however, about the Hunibald discovered by Trithemius. He planned a book, the Kaiserbuch, a collection of decrees and biographies, but this remained a fragment. The search for sources and evaluation thereof was his main contribution.

The same legal training, at Padua under Jason of Mayno, produced the jurist and man of affairs, Willibald Pirckheimer (d. 1530). After seven years in Italy, he returned to Germany and served for a quarter century as councilor in Nuremberg, even leading a contingent of troops against the Swiss. Among translations which he made from the Greek it is of interest to note Lucian's essay *How to write history.* A geographical treatise, *Germaniae perbrevis explicatio,* compiled from various authors and based on his study of Ptolemy, may have been his contribution toward a *Germania illustrata.* Personal experience in warfare formed the basis of his chief work, the *Bellum Helveticum.* Of this, the first book gave a sketch of the early history of the Swiss, drawn from a medieval chronicle, but modernized and cast into humanistic style, following the model of Bruni. Despite close adherence to his Italian model, he was unable to compose a well-rounded, compact story, preferring to ramble through a series of vivid anecdotes, and retaining the providential

theory. Pirckheimer lived into the Lutheran era, but chose to stay within the fold, following the lead of Erasmus.

Another public official who investigated local history was Johann Turmair Aventinus (d. 1534). He was educated at Ingolstadt, Vienna, Cracow, and Paris, and toured Italy as tutor to the Bavarian princelings. When he was commissioned to prepare a complete history of the land, the *Annales Boiorum,* he acquired ample material from the ducal archives, but was not clever in criticizing his sources. The legends he found in older works, such as Rhegino of Pryn or Vitus Arenspeckius, he reproduced without question. The Bavarians he traced back to Illyria and thus associated them with Alexander of Macedon. Otto Rademacher has advanced the theory that Aventinus used documents on Hungarian history which are no longer extant.[31] According to C. A. Macartney, he used *Annales Altahenses,* Hermannus Contractus, Lambert of Hersfeld, and Bernoldus, as well as Hungarian sources.[32] His work was lacking in proportion, for he allotted too much space to universal history. On the other hand, he was informative in his account of customs and literature. The *Germania illustrata* which he planned did not progress beyond a first book of "Deeds of the early Germans." Although educated in a Carmelite monastery and in close rapport with Ingolstadt and the ducal court, he was opposed to the church.

In Austria, nearer to the Turkish invaders, Cuspinian (d. 1529) turned his attention to the east. As an orator and diplomat in the service of Maximilian, he had visited Hungary, Bohemia, and Poland. There and elsewhere he uncovered manuscripts of the late Greek historians. In the *Caesares,* his biographical sketches, he dealt with eastern as well as western emperors, relying upon Biondo and Platina, while for the German phase he used Widukind, Liutprand, Otto of Freising, the *Annales Boemorum,* and even Hunibald. The later centuries are drawn from the account of Aeneas Silvius. His pen-pictures were contrasted—one good ruler and one bad. Since the Italians of this era assumed an attitude of superiority toward Germans, they had produced a reaction. Cuspinian was anti-Italian as well as anti-papal. Of this book, one section was published separately as *De Turcorum origine, religione ac . . . tyrannide.* The whole was put into the vernacular by Hedio. A published treatise *Austria* is a collection of descriptive material looking toward the eventual

[31] O. Rademacher, "Zur Kritik Ungarischen Geschichtsquellen", *Forschungen zur Deutschen Geschichte,* XXV (1885), 379.

[32] C. A. Macartney, *Studies on the Earliest Hungarian Historical Sources VI–VII* (Oxford, 1951), p. 49.

composition of *Germania illustrata,* the project dear to the hearts of the Austro-Bavarian scholars.

Another Austrian historian, whose life span fell entirely within the sixteenth century, was the medical professor Wolfgang Lazius (d. 1565). His family originated in Stuttgart, where his father, a physician, had been a close friend of Beatus Rhenanus. Wolfgang was educated at Ingolstadt, and had traveled with a member of Austria's oldest nobility through France, Belgium, and lower Germany. Later, in search of inscriptions, old coins, and weapons, he visited Switzerland, Alsatia, Suabia, and the Breisgau. During twenty-five years of teaching medicine, including anatomical demonstrations, he built up a fine library, to be incorporated in the Imperial.

The list of *opera* is long, but several remain unpublished, e.g. *Rerum Austriacum decades VI.* The earliest was *Vienna Austriae,* afterwards translated into the vernacular. More important was *Respublica Romana in exteris provinciis,* which ran to two editions in the author's lifetime. In a dedication to Ferdinand I, Lazius complained that Aventinus's books were forgotten while Beatus had left his unfinished. The versatility of Lazius and his flair for antiquities involved an awareness of the newer method of legal teaching, so that he upheld Alciati against the Bartolists. His knowledge of the classics was evidenced by quotations, though he made little attempt to follow the humanistic rhetorical models.

An interest in the folkwanderings resulted in *De gentium aliquot migrationibus,* a treatise dedicated to J. J. Fugger. Beatus's theory of the mutation of races was accepted by Lazius, who felt that a fusion of all German tribes had taken place. He used early medieval sources, such as Procopius and Jordanes, but quoted also Hunibald and the false Berosus. In critical analysis he was deficient, believing the story of the settlement of Austria by Noah's immediate posterity, while he attempted philological derivations which were unsound. There are lists of Greek and Latin words paralleling German, and even a sprinkling of Hebrew. His political theory was pro-Hapsburg and imperialist. To support it he recognized the French as successors to the Roman Empire, thereby establishing a lawful central control, inherited, of course, by the Kaisers. The idea of German liberties was to him inconvenient; his concession to Gallic claims, however, won him some notice from French writers, notably from Bodin. The Turkish threat, so vivid to eastern Europeans, stirred him to compose *Rerum Graecorum libri II,* in which he borrowed from

Pausanias, and *Rerum contra Turkos in Pannonia gestarum.* His hope was to rescue Greece from the Turks.

A collection of ancient coins formed the basis for a treatise on that topic, but his significant work was in cartography, the preparation of an atlas of Austria-Hungary.

The changing fortunes of late medieval Hungary united her with Bohemia or with Poland, and in the sixteenth century with Austria. Colonized by Magyars in the ninth century, and Christianized under Stephen about 1000 A.D., Hungary had for three hundred years developed its culture under the Italianate bishops of the church. Thereafter French, German, and Czech influences were grafted on.[33] From a source outside Hungary was derived the erroneous notion that Hungarians were descendants of the Huns. Since Attila had been a conqueror, Hungarian chroniclers were glad to claim him, so that the error was repeated by various compilers, with embellishments from other accounts, sometimes reaching as far as Geoffrey of Monmouth's story of Arthur.

C. A. Macartney,[34] summarizing the Hungarian historical tradition, decided that Renaissance historians had added nothing of substance for the earlier period. They interpolated material on the Huns found in the classics but did not repudiate them as ancestors. This theory was not challenged until the eighteenth century.[35]

The founder of Hungarian classical studies was John Vitez, archbishop of Gran, who was in contact with the humanists of Florence. Pietro Ranzano (d. 1492), a Sicilian Dominican, was sent to Hungary in the reign of Matthias. His works included a treatise on the antiquities of his native Palermo, a chronicle in sixty-one books, covering all nations from the creation to 1448, and a commentary *De rebus Hungaricis,* dedicated to Corvinus and published in part by Sambucus in 1558. The editorial preface declared that Ranzano had used the same sources as Bonfini.

In addition to the actual control of Hungary by a French dynasty in the fourteenth century, a legendary occupation had occurred when the Franks, as Trojan refugees, had crossed Europe westward. The fable appeared as early as the seventh century in French sources,

[33] A. Angyal, "Recent Hungarian Renaissance Scholarship", *Medievalia et Humanistica,* VIII (1954), 72.

[34] C. A. Macartney, *The Medieval Hungarian Historians* (Cambridge, 1953), p. 57.

[35] L. J. Lekai, "Historiography in Hungary 1790–1848", *Jour. of Central European Affairs,* XIV (1954), p. 10.

which named the settlement in Hungary Sicambria.[36] This tale was taken up by native chroniclers in the thirteenth. It was known to Ranzano, but he treated it quizzically, offering a different theory: Hungary, once called Pannonia, had been included in Illyria. The source specified was Appian, and Ranzano in this section referred also to Ptolemy, Strabo, and Pliny, with indications of their floreat. Recent analysis finds that Ranzano based his account of the Huns and the Hungarians on a manuscript written by a Frenchman in the thirteenth century, a source which the author had obtained from Matthias's Neapolitan queen. He also used a life of St. Stephen, of which several existed.

John Turoczi, born around 1420, a contemporary of Ranzano, but a native Hungarian, composed a *Chronicon regum Hungariae,* starting with Japhet and ending at 1464. Continuators carried it further. Dedicating his work to Thomas de Drag, head of the chancery, the author admitted that he had relied upon preceding accounts. The ultimate source must have been Jordanes, but according to Fabricius he used the *Chronicon Pictum,* John of Kikellew, and Lorenzo de Monacis. Josef Fitz thought his work consisted of five separate accounts with relatively little that was original.[37] Turoczi started with Gomer, son of Japhet, from whom were descended the Gauls. This group, under the leadership of Franco, son of Paris, left the ruins of Troy and moved into Pannonia, called in Alexandrine days upper Greece. They built their town Sicambria in the plain beneath Mt. Sycan. Later Nimrod's sons Hunor and Magor came out of the Maeotian marshes of Scythia to conquer the west. Book I closed with the return to Scythia of Attila's son, ever mindful of fertile Pannonia. The author showed pride in Attila's prowess, though he condemned him for mistreatment of ecclesiastics. To mitigate the dishonor of the repulse at Chalons, Turoczi noted that the *Hungarian Chronicle* reported a victory, even if Sigebert and Antoninus believed Attila had been defeated.

Book II dealt with the second invasion of Pannonia, this time by the Huns as Magyars, under the Arpadian heroes. After crushing the native leader Swatapolug, the Magyars extended their domain, advancing as far as Constantinople. Stephen, Arpad's descendant, having accepted Christianity, became the first king. From 1386 Turoczi told the story by comparing and freely paraphrasing several chroni-

[36] A. Eckhardt, in "De Sicambria à Sans Souci", *Revue des Études Hongroises,* VI (1928), discusses this myth.

[37] J. Fitz, "Die Ausgaben der Thuroczy-Chronik aus dem Jahre 1488", *Gutenberg Jahrbuch,* 1937, p. 97.

cles. His book was published in 1488 and soon translated into German.

In 1486 Matthias Corvinus invited the Italian humanist and teacher Antonio Bonfini (d. 1505) to undertake a similar work. The *Decades rerum Hungaricarum* was not completed until the reign of Ladislaus II. Three decades were published at Basel in 1543, under the editorship of Martin Brenner Bistriciensis, who bound it with a life of Attila by Callimachus and the *Kings of Hungary* by Michael Riccio. In 1568 another fifteen books were added by Sambucus. Bonfini's preface compared the wide empire of the Magyars to antique realms, whereas the editor complained that, except for crude annals, no one had ever told the story of the brave deeds of the Hungarians who, almost unaided, had for a century withstood the Turks. After a geographical description of eastern Europe, fairly accurate except for mention of the Riphaean mountains and Baltic Isles so cold that wolves were blinded (from Jordanes), Bonfini considered the ancestry of the Scythians. The name came from the son of Hercules, while the descendants of Biblical leaders later joined the group. A Trojan-Frankish settlement of Sicambria he rejected. Humanist influence is apparent in the ornate style, filled with classical allusions and details on the later Roman empire. The invasion of the Huns, who, for him, were progenitors of the Magyars, was placed at 373 A.D., and the author referred to Ptolemy, Jordanes, and Ablabius, but perhaps at second hand, as Buchholz felt that Bonfini had borrowed heavily from Biondo, even to copying the quotations.[38] A sixteenth-century Pole, Martin Kromer, wrote that Bonfini had followed an earlier compilator of Hungarian affairs.

As a compliment to his patron, he tried to derive a Roman lineage for Corvinus, connecting him with a Wallachian family descended from Constantine. The main interest of the reign was military, for Hungary was engaged in a threefold struggle against the empire, the Bohemians, and the Turks. Since the emperor had tried to seize Hungarian lands, Bonfini was severe in his strictures on Frederick III, and even ventured a criticism of Matthias, of whose private life he disapproved.

Janos Sambucus, or Zsambucus (d. 1584), a native Magyar, studied medicine and law at Padua, and became official historian at the court of Maximilian II. A prolific editor of the classics, he composed a commentary on Lucian and added more than a decade to the work of Bonfini. He prefaced his edition with an essay on the

[38] Buchholz, *op. cit.*, Anhang, p. 1.

nature of history. This decried prejudice on the part of the historian and advocated brevity, clarity, and relevance. The arrangement should be without other plan than the sequence of time. Exposition, however, was a matter of art. He concluded with consideration of the distinction between the orator and the historian.

Poland's culture, like that of Hungary, was largely influenced by Italian representatives of the church, though Martin of Troppau, composer of the widely-read chronicle, was born a Czech. The first traces of Polish humanism are associated with the University of Cracow and Cardinal Olesnicki, whose secretary for a quarter century was Johannes Dlugosz. Olesnicki had represented Poland at the Councils of Constance and of Basel, and was on friendly terms with Aeneas Silvius, whom Dlugosz himself had known in Rome. This author, a Dominican (d. 1480), had travelled to Vienna, Buda Pest, Italy, and the Holy Land. He apparently started composition of his history in Rome in 1455. While he venerated Livy and tried to write a correct Latin, he confessed that his style was arid. The *Historiae Polonicae a Slavorum Polonorumque originibus libri XIII* was based on documents in Polish, Bohemian, Hungarian, Ruthenian, and German. Macartney finds resemblances to the *Cronica Martiniana,* as well as to episodes later included in the *Buda Chronicle*. Dlugosz himself referred to Paulinus Minorita.

The first six books covered the story to 1240; the last seven, the two following centuries. Despite comments on fables as suited to a poet but not to a historian,[39] Dlugosz reported that Priam, a descendant of Noah, settled Germany from Bavaria to Brabant. From Vandalus, Priam's relative, came the Vandals, later the Poles. Confusing the eras, Dlugosz attributed the settlement of Poland and Bohemia to Lech and Czech, two grandsons of Japhet. For his own century he could draw upon ocular evidence from his active political career. With his religious and patriotic slants he combined an interest in geography. This work was for long the accepted account of Polish history.

Filippo Buonaccorsi (Callimaco, d. 1496) was a disciple of Pomponio Leto and, with him, a founder of the Roman Academy. Under charge of conspiracy, he fled to Poland in 1470 where he received a court appointment. The medieval historian was wont to start his account at the creation, or at least with the origins of his native land. This author, however, chose a smaller canvas. He wrote on the activi-

[39] J. Dlugosz, *Historiae Poloniae libri 12,* in *Opera Omnia* x (Cracow, 1873), preface, p. x.

ties of the Venetians against the Turks, the *Life of Attila,* and the deeds of King Vladislaus. His humanist training produced an elegant Latin style.

Matthias Miechovius (d. 1523), educated at Padua, did not progress in his *Chronica Polonorum* far beyond the critical capacity of Dlugosz. He repeated the fables of settlement, using Russian and Hungarian sources, among others a form of the *Buda Chronicle.* He used also Strabo, Josephus, Jerome, Procopius, Helinand, and Sabellico. According to his account, the Poles were Slavic, descending from Japhet. Matthias resented their assignment to a vague Scythia, which he found in Sigebert and Vincent. Biondo, who had called them German, was rejected. Matthias preferred Isidore of Seville, who placed them near the Vistula. A chapter was devoted to geographical data, indicating rivers, mountains, and climatic zone—the seventh Ptolemaic. He dealt with a bevy of legendary kings, placing Pyast before the era of Antoninus Pius. In its appropriate place, he noted the founding and restoration of the university of Cracow.

His second work, the *Tractatus de duabus Sarmatiis,* covered a wider territory and several races. European Sarmatia comprised Russia, but had vague western limits which included Poland. Matthias was able to correct familiar errors, such as the delusion about the Riphaean mountains. The medieval notion that placed the Elysian fields in the far north he also dismissed. He was aware of widening horizons, drawing an analogy between the Portuguese explorations of India and Africa and the Polish expansion along the northern shore of the Baltic. The Tartar invasions (preceded by a comet), the arrival of the Huns in Hungary, the deeds of the Goths, the Alani, the Vandals, and the Suevi, with some chronological confusion and incorrect identification, a chapter on the Ihuri (again the Huns) and another on the Turks, completed Book I. Book II covered Russia and Lithuania. Repetition of episodes in different eras or locations would indicate that this treatise was a patch-work of earlier chronicles, some from Venetian sources. Both books were translated into Italian.

Dlugosz was also the inspiration for Martin Kromer (d. 1589), who studied law at Padua and Bologna, became secretary to the bishop of Cracow and later to Sigismund Augustus. In this capacity he headed missions to Vienna, Trent, and Rome. As guardian of the national archives he had access to data which enabled him, at the king's suggestion, to compose *De origine et rebus gestis Polonorum.* He quoted his predecessors Dlugosz, Matthias, Bonfini, Krantz, as

well as Tacitus, Josephus, Jordanes, Pope Gregory, Procopius, Biondo, and the false Berosus. The theory that the Slavs originated in Illyria, which had been a means of relating them to Alexander of Macedon, he opposed. The book closed with the birth of Louis II. Kromer's work, prefaced by the rhetorician Robertello, was popular, running to several editions, and was translated into Polish and German. Two years later he supplemented the book of Dlugosz with a consideration of the native customs and the political constitution. *Polonia, sive de situ, populis, moribus, magistratibus et republica* served as a counterpart to the *Germania* of Tacitus. The author revealed critical ability, discovering errors in earlier works, and wrote excellent Latin prose. He resisted Protestantism, defended the prerogatives of the clergy, as became the bishop's secretary, and as a royal official supported the king against the nobility.

Moving westward in the Baltic area we consider the historical production of the southern and northern littorals. Even later than in Poland rose the Scandinavian universities—Upsala in 1477 and Copenhagen the following year. Few books were printed. It was not until a cultural ferment had been started by the Reformation that the presses became active.

There had been an earlier historical trickle in north German lands, as evidenced by the accounts of Adam of Bremen, Helmold, and Arnold of Lübeck. The chronicle of Saxo Grammaticus, a Dane, written in the twelfth century, was printed early in the sixteenth. It was Albert Krantz (d. 1517), however, who first attempted the history of Saxony and the Baltic lands, along the lines suggested by Biondo and Aeneas Silvius. Krantz, a professor of canon law at Rostock who had visited Italy, France, and the Low Countries, left in manuscript three unfinished works, from the origins up to 1500, which apparently were contemporary in composition and form an entire treatise: *Saxonia, Wandalia,* and *Chronica regnorum aquilonarium.* As a low Saxon, with ties in Lübeck, Rostock, and Hamburg, Krantz compiled the history of his native province with consistent partiality. In so doing, he showed his distrust of Denmark, France, and Italy, each of which seemed hostile to, or contemptuous of, Germany. Toward the Scandinavians, however, he in his turn claimed a cultural superiority.

The Saxon nation he declared must have been autochthonous, for the self-evident reason that no one would abandon a more fertile area for the barren shores of the North Sea. Legendary origins based

on the classics, such as the Trojan descent of the Franks, he discredited as old wives' tales, lacking agreement or consistency. Those based on the Bible he treated with more respect or repeated without comment. The grant of the earth to the children of Noah, Krantz thought, had misled men in the Middle Age, but on the authority of the false Berosus, he was willing to accept the theory of settlement by Tuisco, a descendant. Between the Don and the Rhine lay the land taken over—Magna Germania. All peoples dwelling there, the Goths and the Huns, were of German stock. In addition the Brabanters and Flemings were Saxons transplanted by Charlemagne.

Lacking adequate sources, Krantz felt compelled to make inferences from classical accounts. Ptolemy and Tacitus he esteemed, particularly as the latter praised the simple German virtues. For the invasion of Britain by the Saxons, Bede was his authority; in the Lombard conquest, described by Paul the Deacon, he found the Saxons also had a share. Relations with Denmark he traced in the half-mythical story of the Zealander Saxo Grammaticus.[40] Saxo was his main source up to 1200 in the chronicle of the northerly kingdoms. In this second work Krantz outlined the migrations into Normandy, England, and the Two Sicilies, noting with satisfaction that the southerners feared the might of the Goths. Jordanes was useful, but since Krantz was forced to rely on German rather than Scandinavian sources, this was his weakest book, although it remained for long the only one in Germany on the subject.[41]

In the *Wandalia* he described Russia, Poland, and Bohemia as Slavic countries. The Vandals he considered to be European Scythians, closely related to the Germans, who had brought them civilization. Over the Slavs he claimed the sovereignty of the empire.[42] On the descent of the Hungarians he quarreled with Helmold, and with Aeneas as to the Bohemians, but found more agreement with Biondo. He followed the wanderings of the Burgundians from eastern Europe to the Rhine, the Franconians into France, and the Vandals across Spain to Africa, basing his story on Sigebert of Gembloux. His theories on the settlement of France led to unfavorable criticism of the contemporary historian Gaguin.

Krantz was regarded in the north German area as an early hu-

[40] E. Schäfer, *Zur Geschichtschreibung des A. Krantz* (Hamburg, 1898), p. 17.

[41] V. A. Nordmann, "Die Chronica Regnorum Aquilonarium des Albert Krantz", *Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fenniae,* Series B, xxxv: 2 (Helsinki, 1936), 241.

[42] Nordmann, "Die Wandalia des Albert Krantz", *ibidem,* Series B, xxix: 3 (Helsinki, 1934), 53.

manist. It is true that his work showed some rhetorical devices; he was acquainted with the classics, and used judgment in comparing sources. On the other hand, his viewpoint was annalistic. The latter part of his *Saxonia,* covering all Germany, is episodic, and lacking in topical continuity. His best informed work, the *Metropolis,* was an account of the diocese of Hamburg, based on abundant local material.

Erasmus Stella (d. 1521), a physician and burgomaster of Zwickau, who had travelled in Italy, was one of the first Germans to use the classics as a source for old Germany. He compiled two books, *De rebus et populis orae inter Albim et Salam,* and *De antiquitatibus Borussiae.* In his dedication to Frederick of the Teutonic Knights, he called attention to the lack of information on Prussia, and quoted his authorities as Pliny, Mela, Strabo, Tacitus, Valerius Maximus, Ptolemy, Solinus, Jordanes, Albertus Magnus, Helmold, Otto of Freising, Biondo, Aeneas, and "the *annales Borussiae*". He dealt with the mores of the inhabitants of furthest Germany, whose descent he traced from the Greeks. The historical sections were slight. Both Wegele and Fabricius were scathing about his inventions.

As an accessory to its history, the geography of the region was well handled by Jacob Ziegler (d. 1549), a Bavarian astronomer who had studied theology at Vienna. He produced a widely read commentary on Pliny, *De Sphaera,* and second-hand descriptions of Egypt, Syria, and Palestine, with a creditable map, showing latitude and longitude. After long wanderings in Moravia, Hungary, and Italy, where he met Scandinavians, he published *Schandia,* describing the topography of the north, even to Iceland. He was aware of the north and south direction of the Scandinavian axis. This work was usually bound with Krantz' *Chronica* as a useful supplement.

His younger contemporary, Olaus Magnus, who left Sweden because of his Catholic faith, produced a *Carta Marina* for the northern lands from Greenland to the Russian end of the Baltic. This was followed by a *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus* in twenty-two books, covering customs, commerce, politics, and physical properties of the land. In his first chapter he discussed the position of Biarmia, whose zenith was at the pole. Half the year was one long day, the other half was night. Relying upon Saxo, he described the nearer portion as mountainous and snowy, the further as inhabited by strange tribes and reindeer. A northeast passage was tentatively suggested. His book resembled a sociological treatise rather than a

history. It was later translated into German, Italian, English, and Dutch.[43]

A reaction against the newer trends was embodied in the *Chronologia* of Johann Funck (d. 1566). He was born near Nuremberg, studied at Wittenberg, and fled from the imperial armies into Prussia and Lithuania. Here he compiled a book approved by his contemporary Jean Bodin, who found that it recorded in a definite scheme data given by Eusebius, Bede, Meisterlin, Lucidus, Martin, and Phrygio. The first half of the large folio volume is made up of a concordance of dates, showing in parallel tables corresponding events in the history of the Assyrians, Egyptians, Celtiberians, and Italians, broadening to include the Athenians, Myceneans, Trojans, etc., while dropping some of the earlier groups. This section contains 175 double folio pages. The second half is a commentary on the tables in ten books, of which the first run from the creation to the Persian Empire, the third deals with the Greeks, the fourth with the Romans; in other words, the arrangement is adapted to the four empires. The commentary stops at 1525, with a supplement on the captivity of the Saxon elector in 1547. Despite its antiquated character, it was popular and ran to three editions by 1578.

In England the tradition of compiling a record had been maintained at St. Albans after the death of Matthew Paris. Various lesser authors were followed by Thomas Walsingham, who probably reworked the older chronicles and added contemporary material up to 1421. His method was annalistic, without assigned causes or relationships. On the other hand, he occasionally quoted a document and gave greater space to topics which interested him, such as the schism, Lollardry, and episodes of the Anglo-French war. There is mention of the weather, epidemics, and personal affairs of royalty, nobility, and clergy. Although Walsingham was reputed a classical scholar, and sometimes quoted Ovid, there are no humanist traits in his chronicles.

Perhaps because of the dynastic struggle, the monks at St. Albans were unable to maintain their former achievements in historiography. A foreign influence was manifested in biographies of the Lancastrian and the Tudor kings. Tito Livio of Ferrara, invited by Duke Humphrey, came to England about 1437 and wrote a life of Humphrey's brother Henry V. Bernard André of Toulouse, a tutor of Prince

[43] A. Bertolotti, "Olao Magno, arcivescovo d'Upsala", *Archivio Storico Italico*, 5th Ser., VII (1891).

Arthur, prepared a biography of Henry VII. There was also a sprinkling of chronicles in English. A historian of outstanding importance came as collector of Peter's pence at the turn of the century. Polydore Vergil (d. 1555), educated at Padua, and brother of a professor there, evinced his interest in the sources of British history by editing Gildas. He was a prolific author, yet he spent twenty-six years in the preparation of his *Anglica historia,* basing it on whatever sources were known to him, both continental and English, and first-hand oral reports. This writer has been analyzed in recent years by Denys Hay, to whose work the reader is referred. In placing reliance upon Caesar, Tacitus, and Gildas, Vergil was able to reject the Trojan origin of the Britons, calling Geoffrey of Monmouth more poet than historian. He approved Bede, however, as well as Matthew Paris and Walsingham, and considered valuable the evidence of Saxo on the Danish period. Patriotic Englishmen who had cherished the fable of Brutus were antipathetic to Vergil.

In his first book he repeated the phrases about the historian's duty to tell the truth, without suspicion of favor or envy. On this score he repudiated Gaguin, in his anti-English tendencies, as a writer more mindful of hate than of truth. Vergil attempted objectivity. He weighed his sources and gave credit. Where they were in conflict, he left the decision to the reader. With regard to Cardinal Wolsey, however, who had thrown Vergil into prison, the author was unable to retain his dispassionate stand. The Henrician period was adroitly handled by allotting a disproportionate space to foreign affairs. Royal misgivings on the Spanish alliance were attributed to the unscrupulous ambitions of Wolsey. The section dealing with the years 1513–1537 was withheld from publication until the reign of Mary.

While Vergil managed to touch only lightly upon religious strife, the Reformation had a marked and unfortunate effect upon historiography in northern lands and, after the conciliators had failed, upon southern writers also. As the Council of Trent reaffirmed the doctrinal position of the church, the historians drew up their battle lines, throwing to the winds their alleged objectivity.

Anglo-Scottish relations and the erratic behavior of Mary Stuart tended to exacerbate the religious struggle in Scotland. There had been some early chronicles, notably those by Fordun and Wyntoun, circulating in manuscript, but the first published Latin history was by John Major (d. 1549), *Historia Majoris Britanniae tam Angliae quam Scotiae*. While medieval in style, even scholastic in its method,

Major's work showed improvement over the uncritical annalistic form. Since he was a theologian, educated at Paris, his Aristotelian logic is understandable; it is, however, noteworthy that he made an advance toward accuracy by rejecting legendary origins and by selecting facts from the chroniclers. He made no attempt at research, but did not reproduce Wyntoun's tale on the settlement by descendants of an Egyptian princess Scota. In his preface to James V he asserted that a historian's first duty was to proclaim the truth. His own objective was the inculcation of moral principles. According to the *Critical Essay* of Father Innes,[44] Major relied in the main upon Fordun's account. In discussing the actual settlement he weighed the opinions of several authors and chose that of Bede as the most probable. Material from Geoffrey of Monmouth was accepted only in part. Like Bede, he devoted his opening chapters to geographic description, covering also the economic resources. The Roman invasion was reached in the twelfth chapter. For his last book, which completed the reign of Henry VII, he quoted "the English chronicles" and Gaguin. The date of publication, when Francis I was overshadowed by Charles V, and Henry VIII had not yet asked for annulment, helps to explain his preference for an English, over a French, alliance for Scotland.

In his *Historia gentis Scotorum* Hector Boece (d. 1536) showed the influence of the revival of classical form, for he imitated the flowing style of Livy. He was, however, more credulous than Major, repeating the fiction of Scota, Pharaoh's daughter, and adding many kings to the Scottish dynasty, whom he found not in Fordun, but in a chronicler Veremund, no longer extant. The descendants of Scota, moving from Spain to Ireland, and thence to Scotland, encountered the Picts, reported by some authors to have been Huns driven off the continent. Boece considered this derivation doubtful, as the time elements did not correspond. He was also quizzical about Geoffrey of Monmouth, preferring to follow Tacitus, Eutropius, Paul the Deacon, Bede, Veremund, Campbell, and Turgot. Some attention was given to continental affairs: the Moslem invasion of Sicily, the founding of the University of Paris by two Scots in the reign of Charlemagne, the Council of Nicaea, the accomplishments of John Scotus, and, at home, the story of Macbeth. Father Innes was particularly severe in his criticism of Boece's dynastic data, commenting that it was without foundation, unless based on a contemporary forgery.

The most popular of the Scottish histories, a work which main-

[44] Thomas Innes, *A Critical Essay* [1729] (Edinburgh, 1885), p. 344.

tained its reputation for two centuries, was the *Rerum Scoticarum Historia* of George Buchanan (d. 1582). It ran to nineteen editions and was translated into several languages. The close ties between Scotland and France led many young Scots to complete their education in Paris. Buchanan moved from St. Andrews to Paris, spent three years teaching at Bordeaux, and another at Coimbra. His life was devoted to the study of the classics. By 1562 he had been won over to the Protestant cause, and was therefore opposed to Mary Stuart and the supporters of monarchy by divine right. His treatise *De jure regni* called for a limited monarchy. In the scientific field he was more conservative, rejecting the Copernican theory.

A physical description of Scotland, fortified by quotations from Greek and Latin authors, formed the opening section of his book. The list of early kings he borrowed from Boece without credit. In Book II he offered suggestions on method, which unhappily he did not consistently apply. Those who base their stories on the ancient annals of Britain, said he, should take into account who first reported these matters, where the information had lain hidden, and how it was brought to light. Bards and wise men disagree; therefore do not claim to know the unattainable. Buchanan recognized the effect of gradual change; for instance, that French, Spanish, and Italian derive from Latin, whereas the Danes, Saxons, Flemish, and English speak Germanic dialects. He applied the test of reason: thirty-three widowed daughters of a Syrian king could not have sailed to Scotland, for the coincidences were too remarkable; Scota's Greek husband was not found in Greek authors; Brutus could with difficulty have crossed the Alps or eluded the Carthaginian fleet. To Annius of Viterbo he made the concessions due to a poet, but he did not grant the same grace to a historian.

Fergus from Ireland, the first king, Buchanan made a contemporary of Alexander the Great. Thereafter he devoted a paragraph to each king, forty in all, before he reached Fergus II, giving as sources Marianus Scotus, Johann Funck, and Bede. The book, covering Scottish history to 1571, was valuable in its later sections as the account of an eye-witness. While weak in criticism, Buchanan was a master of humanistic style.

John Leslie (d. 1596), an ecclesiastic trained at Paris and Poitiers in canon and civil law, brought Mary Stuart home in 1561. He remained loyal to her and to the ancient church. An experienced diplomat, he prepared for his sovereign a vernacular account of Scottish fortunes from 1436, where Boece had stopped, to 1561. Dur-

ing an imprisonment in England he outlined a history from the origins, completed later in Rome and dedicated to Gregory XIII, the *Libri decem de origine, moribus, et rebus gestis Scotorum.* The earlier portions relied upon Major and Boece, and to a lesser degree upon Tacitus, Suetonius, Ammianus Marcellinus, Eutropius, Herodian, and Trithemius. His own observations improved the geographical sections. The preface to the Scottish version cited Polydore Vergil, Bede, Froissart, Fabyan, Hall and Stowe, with some references to archives and monastic records.

On the topic of settlement, he commented that many tried to trace their descent from the gods, but he could not approve an ornamentation which obscured the truth with misty fables. A history should not be built on the precepts of rhetoric. On the tale about Brutus he was noncommittal. From the name Albion he inferred that the Greeks had reached Britain before the Romans, and proceeded to narrate the Scota story, tracing her descendants to Ireland. Simon Brechus reigned there about sixty years after the founding of Rome. From his long residence in France, Leslie became interested in the early history of that country, noting that Pharamond was made king in 426 A.D., wrote the *Great Chronicle,* and might have drawn up the Salic Law. A Franco-Scottish alliance in the time of Charlemagne resulted in the visit of Scottish scholars to Paris, where they helped to found the university. John Scotus, a Hellenist, proceeded thence to Pavia. These data Leslie probably drew from Boece. Somewhat in medieval fashion, he collected at the end of each book reference to cultural items such as the history of Paul the Deacon, the learning of Raban, abbot of Fulda, or the names of contemporary rulers.

Lying along the trade route uniting northern Italy with the channel ports, the Burgundian realm, like the Rhine valley, was buffeted by the countercurrents of intellectual activity. The feudal dynasty reigning at Dijon had, through marriage alliances and military fatalities, acquired lands of diverse cultures stretching as far north as Holland and Gelderland. Their subjects spoke French, Walloon, Flemish, and Dutch. This principality, so oddly welded together in the late middle age, was in the sixteenth century divided among four independent powers. The chronicles of the area, reflecting the political conditions of the fourteenth century, were devoted chiefly to local history, such as the deeds of the Flemish, the story of Brabant, or the chronicle of the counts of Holland. The last topic was treated by

Johann de Beka, drawing upon manuscript sources in the library at Egmont. His book was the basis of the work by Johann Gerbrand of Leyden (d. 1495). Gerbrand planned his narrative according to reigns, explaining that the domain was granted to the first count by Charles the Bald. He opened his story with a geographic description of the province, and gave precision to the tale by inserting definite dates. It is, however, only a meagre condensed account, skipping from 1417 to 1473 in the closing pages.

Another compilator, Aegidius de Roya (d. 1478), a French-born Cistercian, composed an *Annales Belgici* based on an earlier author of the same abbey of Duins. In his preface he explained, "I have followed Brando not literally, but in substance, seeking no additional data, for I am fully confident that Brando studied most attentively all original accounts".[45]

Contemporaneously there developed in Burgundy a school of secular authors who wrote in French, but were actually born in the Low Countries—Froissart and Monstrelet in Hainault, Commines and Chastellain in Flanders. Their interest was the martial adventures and the rivalries of their day.

Following de Beka and Gerbrand, Adrian Barland (d. 1539) prepared a treatise on the counts of Holland, from Dirk I to Philip the Handsome. His main work was *Rerum gestarum a Brabantiae ducibus historia,* which he prefaced with a defense of his methods. He had obtained data from chronicles in his native tongue, as well as foreign accounts. For style, he claimed indifference, though he was a professor of eloquence at Louvain. Displaying his acquaintance with the classics, he referred to Pliny's dictum that history delights, regardless of manner. His own brevity, like that of Sallust, would produce clarity. Variations in style he had learned from Livy while in omitting unessentials his patterns were Justin, Suetonius, and even Caesar.

The book opens with a description of Brabant, a province the author considered a part of Germany (the empire), whose first duke had been Pippin, grandfather of Pippin of Herstal, near Liége. On the bastardy of Pippin's son Charles Martel, Barland reproached Biondo and Sabellico for inaccuracy. The third Pippin had been elevated to the French throne by Pope Zacharias because of the insanity of the last Merovingian (thus Brabant conquered France). Pippin's successor Charles was crowned emperor by Pope Leo, with

[45] S. de Wind, *Bibliothek der Nederlandsche Geschiedschrijvers* (Middelburg, 1835), p. 88.

the consent of the people. There is a passing reference to Alcuin and Peter of Pisa, later to Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas. Because of lacunae in his sources Barland omitted the dukes between Louis the Pious and Godfrey Barbatus, and then proceeded reign by reign in brief chapters. The first date mentioned was 1214 when the Emperor Otto was conquered at Bouvines. More ample space was devoted to the feats of Charles the Rash and to his great-grandson Charles V, who won a great victory at Pavia and captured the French king.

Scant attention is given to the miraculous. After Charlemagne's death, a steeple was struck by lightning and other accidents occurred. Barland drily commented, "Many people make assertions stupidly, and these rash statements are accepted by many other people even more stupidly".

Gerard Geldenhauer (d. 1542), son of the chamberlain of Arnold of Egmont, studied at Deventer, and was associated with the House of Burgundy through Philip, bishop of Utrecht, whose Latin secretary he was for twelve years. His earliest work was a biography of his patron, with a genealogy borrowed from Aemund Dinter. The *Lucubratiuncula de Batavorum Insula,* discussing the original area held by that people, precipated a debate among the learned. Basing his arguments on Tacitus, with minor reference to Aimoin, Sigebert, and Regino, Gerard contended that the Batavi, a branch of the Chatti, had controlled a large part of Holland, as well as the area known as Betuwe. He placed the Sicambri, whom Hungarian authors had claimed, between the Meuse and the Rhine, identifying them with the natives of Cleves, Gelders, and Cologne. The source given is Suetonius' life of Octavian.

The theory of racial origin reappeared in his *Historia Batavica,* where he introduced Bato, a prince of the Chatti, as first ruler of the land. Hessus, his son, fought by the side of Caesar. The account proceeded from the Roman emperors to Charlemagne, without recognition of any discontinuity. Gerard believed that the Romans had conquered only because God so willed it, being angry at quarrelsome mortals. He gave as sources the histories of the dukes of Gelders and of Cleves, as well as Caesar, Florus, Suetonius, and Tacitus *passim*. A collection of his notes, intended as basis for a history of his own times, has been preserved. After the death of his patron, Gerard, in contact with Melanchthon and Luther, became a Protestant, and taught theology and history at Marburg.

In contrast to this interest in earliest origins Jacob Meyer (d. 1552)

announced in his *Flandricarum rerum annales* that he could find nothing concerning the Flemish earlier than 445 A.D. when Clodius king of the Franks reached the Scheldt. This work, conforming to annalist style, proceeds from year to year, covering the crusades as well as sections of French and English history. He noted the hatred of the French for the Burgundians, and ended with the death of Charles the Rash in 1477. Meyer made cutting remarks about the French, who "are as unreliable in their books as in their actions". More specifically he was persuaded that France menaced the Low Countries, he objected to Gaguin's French sources, he despised Froissart and, above all, Commines. His own sources were manuscript, widely sought and evaluated, among them the *Chronicon of St. Bertini* by John of Ypres, Hermannus Contractus, Nauclerus, and Krantz. His preface, like many others, stated that he had tried to avoid fables and maintain the truth. Born near Bailleul, and dying in Bruges, he represented the Burgundian viewpoint.

Luigi Guicciardini, resident in Antwerp, wrote a contemporary history, with emphasis on Belgian affairs, running from 1529 to 1560. This was written in Italian and only later translated into Latin.

During the revolt against Spain historians of the Low Countries slanted their writings according to their own religious affiliation. Pontus de Huyter (d. 1602), a native of Delft, was taken prisoner by the insurgents, changed to Protestantism under compulsion, and reverted to his early faith when freed. He investigated many monasteries in Franche Comté and Burgundy for documents. In his preface he rested his case on source material, not only Latin, but also French and Belgian, printed as well as manuscript, of which the greater part was to vanish during the civil wars. In his *Historiae rerum Burgundicarum libri VI* he traced, in humanist style, the deeds of the dukes and counts of both Burgundies, allotting major space to Philip the Bold and Charles the Rash. As a continuation he prepared *Rerum Belgicarum sive Austriacarum libri XVI,* carrying the story from 1477 to 1564, and dedicating it to the Archduke Albert. A final work, *Historia Secessionis Belgicae* completed his trilogy. These are written from the Catholic royalist point of view. He supported the Spanish, even to the extent of distorting his data.

Jacques Marchant (d. 1609), born in Nieuport, educated at Louvain, and for two years a visitor in Italy, joined the revolt against Spain. In his *De rebus Flandriae memorabilibus* he explained the settlement of his native province by the Menapii, supporting his

statements through reference to Meyer. On the later Flemish counts he obtained some information from the book of Paul Émile. He did not give a continuous narrative: there is a section on the divisions of the county, the towns, fortresses, rivers and ports, another on the monasteries, and on the feudal courts. The material is arranged somewhat like that of Beatus Rhenanus, whom he quoted.

In Switzerland, hardly united in the fifteenth century, there were the usual local chroniclers who wrote in German the story of Zurich and of Berne. At the opening of the sixteenth century, with the widening of the confederation, and the more frequent contacts with Italy, a study of the classical historians produced among Swiss scholars a new standard of historiography. Their best-known authors, however, von Watt (d. 1551), Tschudi (d. 1572), and Stumpf (d. 1576), wrote their major historical works in German. There are minor essays on geography in Latin. Georg von Wyss accords the highest place to Tschudi as a man of comprehensive learning,[46] whose teacher, Heinrich Loriti (d. 1563), a professor of music at Freiburg, was interested also in his country's history. Loriti, like Tschudi, was a native of Glari, and produced *Helvetiae descriptio et in laudatissimum foedus panegyricon,* a treatise mostly geographic, but with some historical passages. He was likewise the author of a *Chronologia* and a *Compendiaria Asiae, Africae, Europaeque descriptio.*

Josias Simmler (d. 1576), whose family came from Rheinau, was associated with Zurich. He composed several essays, largely geographic, such as *De Republica Helvetiorum et descriptio Vallesiae,* and effected a Latin translation of the history of Switzerland written in German by Tschudi. Though Tschudi was Catholic and Simmler Protestant, the two men were friends.

The course of events in Bohemia, which Aeneas had considered unusually dramatic, was portrayed in the sixteenth century by Bartoch and Hayek, writing in Czech, and by John Skala Dubravius (d. 1553), who, though he was influenced by the utraquist Hayek, preferred to use Latin. Dubravius had studied law in Italy, and became bishop of Olmütz. His geographical introduction to *Historia regni Bohemiae* rests on the classical authorities Caesar, Velleius Paterculus, Ptolemy, Pliny, Mela, Strabo, and Procopius. He then moved on to the topic of origins, omitting the story about Scythians from Moesia, to start with Czech and Lech, and later introduced Crocus and Libussa. The old myth about the Amazons in Germany

[46] Geo. von Wyss, *Geschichte der Historiographie in der Schweiz* (Zürich, 1895), 201.

reappeared; there was the same identification of Huns and Hungarians, though the Bohemian version depicted the Emperor Henry putting the Huns to flight. This early history Dubravius disposed of in thirty pages, while a larger space was allotted to the religious struggles of the late medieval period. The thirty-third book ends with the coronation of Ferdinand I in 1527. This was an important work for its factual data, but does not represent any advance in critical ability.

The significance to historical writing of the Reformation is illustrated by two books of Johann Sleidan (d. 1556). He was born near Aachen, studied at Liége, Cologne, and Louvain, and taught at Orleans for three years. His first important work, *De quattuor summis imperiis,* though it had for framework the prophecy of Daniel, offered a sensible resumé of European history. Sleidan had translated Froissart and Commines, recognizing the trend toward a different style of composition.

He became agent for the French, agitating among Protestant princes for a revolt against the emperor. Eventually Philip of Hesse and the Schmalkaldic League offered him access to their archives as sources for a history of the period. He used those at Marburg and Strassburg, stating that he had consulted Latin, French, and Italian documents. He intended to employ no rhetoric, to offer no judgment; he would present attack and counterattack, without favor or animus. *De statu religionis,* dedicated to Augustus of Saxony, began with Luther's opposition to indulgences, combining religious developments with the requisite political exposition. It marked a change from the personal or national *res gestae* to recognition of a cultural, social movement. An apologia in the second edition defends his own impartiality. Without it, he said, history could not be written.

In sharp contrast was the work of Matthias Flacius (d. 1575) originally entitled *Ecclesiastica Historia,* but more generally known, because of its arrangement, as the Magdeburg Centuries. The main author, Illyrian by birth, had studied in Venice, and, influenced by a crypto-Protestant uncle, had moved on to Tübingen and Wittenberg, where he openly supported the Lutheran position. With the financial aid of some German princes, a program of research throughout Europe was initiated; the Fuggers granted access to their collections to assist in the compilation of a general church history written from the Protestant point of view. The editors were convinced that while the Christian Church had followed evangelical teachings at its start,

it had gone astray after the death of the last apostle. With this thesis in mind, the staff divided the material, from the first century up to 1400, under special topics such as heresies, schisms, councils, martyrs, and miracles, taking the antipapal view invariably, and proclaiming, for instance, the falsity of the Isidorean decretals.

The formal reply to Magdeburg was presented by Caesar Baronius (d. 1607), who was selected by St. Philip Neri though he knew little Greek and no Hebrew. Baronius' theme was the permanent character of the church. Founded by Christ, it had remained unchanged. He did not study the development of dogma, but divided his material chronologically year by year according to the Christian calendar, like the medieval chronicler, and in a parallel column according to the years of the Roman Empire. On the issue of arrangement his work marked a reaction. The Centuriators, with their topical division within a century, afforded a broader perspective. Baronius gave a report of the facts favorable to his thesis, dismissing all others. He covered the ages from Christ to 1180; there were several continuators, and at least twenty reprints of the lengthy compilation.

The tension in the empire gave France a diplomatic opportunity upon which she attempted to capitalize through the activities of Sleidan's patron Guillaume Du Bellay (d. 1543). This soldier composed an *Ogdoades,* supposedly an account of the rivalry between Francis and Charles, which Montaigne characterized "plutôt un plaidoyer pour le roy . . . contre l'empereur qu'une histoire". Bodin, on the other hand, ranked the author with Polybius, Thucydides, and Tacitus since he evaluated causes, plans, and progress. Bodin, however, was partial to a fellow-Angevin. He admitted that the amount of writing was scanty; actually there are now extant only three books from the *Fifth Ogdoade,* translated into French. Bodin himself, though not a historian, contributed a famous *ars historica* in which he discussed such problems as the nature of history, a program of study, a critical evaluation of many historical works, the influence of climate upon the development of peoples, the most suitable form of government for each, a refutation of some long-established errors like the four monarchies and human deterioration, and different systems of reckoning time. His last chapter is an extensive bibliography, arranged topically with the floreat of each author. This has been of assistance in the preparation of the present survey.

One of the last great Latin historians of France was Jacques Auguste de Thou, a member of a house which had served France in judicial capacities. Borrowing his title from Giovio, he indicated in

his opening chapter the state of affairs throughout the world, then turned more special attention to Spain and the empire, giving due credit to his authorities. Thereafter he tended to concentrate on France, in its domestic and foreign relations. Upon religious matters, he was mildly tolerant, befitting a councilor of Henry of Navarre, to whom the book was dedicated. As a result, it was not popular with either faction, like the work of his friend Sleidan. Unhappily, despite his wide experience of affairs, he was not able to interpret the sequence of events. His account is merely a listing of facts, defended by the medieval providential theory. De Thou in France and Mariana in Spain, living as late as 1600, still taught the supernatural direction of history.

In Italy, even within the church, some history was being written from a secular point of view. Paul Giovio (d. 1552), bishop of Nocera, who had been a physician, spent the years from 1515 to 1552 in the composition of a *Historia sui temporis,* which was extremely successful. As one envious competitor observed, "When he put a history on sale he reaped a richer reward from lies than any other man from telling the truth". Giovio took up residence at the Vatican, where he had access to countless documents. He was in contact with leaders throughout Europe; his relatives were engaged in commerce with the near east. From these various sources he compiled two folio volumes of current history. His model was Polybius, who had depicted the Roman conquest of the Mediterranean world within fifty-three years.

Giovio planned an artistic unity. After a rapid survey of conditions throughout Europe, he would focus upon the French invasion of 1494 which precipitated a general war in Europe, Asia, and Africa. He had expected to deal with the course of hostilities, and then, when a western peace had been arranged, to conclude with the proclamation of a crusade against the Turks. He was mistaken in his forecast. After dealing alternately with war in Hungary, a naval war in the Mediterranean, and the long Franco-imperial struggle, he was to bring his story to a weak climax, the Peace of Crespy. This was a stalemate: as Giovio phrased it, "The Emperor has on leash an English dog pointing toward France, while France, in its turn, has a Turkish dog pointed at Austria". He had a pro-Medicean viewpoint, which meant that he was anti-Florentine. He was naturally antagonistic to the French invaders. These two opposing groups have counterattacked by exaggerating his faults. Authors of that era who were subsidized slanted their accounts. Giovio, defending himself in a

private letter, called attention to the distinction between history and encomium: "History has the light of verity . . . [while] Encomium has passages of rhetoric and praises a man without consideration . . . For more than twenty years I have labored to learn how to compose a history that shall be moderate, clear and faithful . . . I have struggled to put into practice the precepts of Lucian."

If Giovio, in Fueter's eyes, was a journalist-reporter, writing contemporary history which became a best seller, Sigonio reverted to the learned school of which Biondo was an exponent. He improved upon Biondo's style, producing an elegant Latin, and had a knowledge of Greek. In preparation for his works he carried out a systematic search of archives, public and private, using discrimination in his selection of source material. A long residence at the University of Bologna, where Roman law had been studied for centuries, led him to the realization of the importance of law in the development of institutions. Two works on ancient law, in Rome and in Italy, attest his interest.

The *Historia de occidentali imperio,* running from 284 A.D. to 565, attributed the fall of the empire to its division under Diocletian and Constantine. This so weakened institutions that the administration was unable to withstand attacks by Persians, Scythians, and Germans. The second and more famous book, *Historia de regno Italiae,* started with the Lombards. No more memorable change had come than the barbarian inroads into prosperous Italy. Italians should learn from the study of earlier calamities how to enjoy their present good fortune, and if the tide should turn, to bear misfortune stoically. The French and the Germans, who conquered the peninsula, had their native chroniclers, but Italy, from whom they gleaned culture, had no adequate historian.

It was true that Biondo deserved praise for investigating the medieval period, but Sigonio considered that Biondo had undertaken too large a scope, and had spent his efforts on external affairs. Sabellico in turn had been inferior to Biondo in diligence and no better in style. He himself was undertaking the task in his full maturity (1572), having made preparation through research in early commentaries, in records of old Italy and the Lombards, in diplomata, and in chronicles, private as well as official, which appeared after 1000 A.D. The Lombard kingdom seemed to him a permanent factor, having bequeathed to Italy a long series of kings and emperors. The French had extended this principality, the Germans made suitable laws for preserving its liberty. Sigonio credited Paul the Deacon and

the *Dialogus* of Gregory for his data on this period. To Charlemagne he was mildly favorable, assuming that the imperial title had been confirmed by popular vote. Ado and Sigebert were his sources for the Treaty of Verdun. After the recognition of Otto by Pope Leo, Sigonio was on firmer ground, with fuller sources. He carried his story through the reign of Henry V, probably using Biondo as a base.[47] His own era, he felt, was one which cultivated the arts of peace, a zeal for learning, and the desire for right conduct. (This preface was composed two years after the St. Bartholomew!) The marked improvement in the world, and in the hearts of men, he attributed to the church.

This survey was undertaken to ascertain the Renaissance concept of history and its application in the compositions of the period. There is no doubt that scholars were moving away from the idea of history as entertainment toward that of history as truth, built up on the basis of reliable documentation, a process which the present world might call scientific. Between the theoretical concept, however, and the actual compositions, scientific objectivity was abandoned. The break-up of the western empire, realized long after the event, induced a defensive attitude which manifested itself in an early nationalism among the authors of histories. While their prefaces expatiated upon the search for sources and claimed objectivity, the text betrays two areas which were above the law—their nation and their religion.

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*New London, Conn.*

[47] Nogara, *op. cit.*, p. cvi.

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# The Problem of Counsel in *Mum and the Sothsegger*

THE TWO VERSE fragments edited in 1936 under the title *Mum and the Sothsegger*[1] have already proved useful to the historian of ideas and institutions. In 1939, Helen M. Cam made very good use of them to illustrate the relation of English members of parliament to their constituencies.[2] More recently, Ruth Mohl, who followed the editors in considering them parts of a single poem, placed them in relation to the more formal aspects of medieval political thought.[3] The usefulness of *Mum and the Sothsegger* has not, however, been exhausted. Indeed it remains, as both Miss Cam and Miss Mohl found it, a curiously neglected text. And one reason is that it has not been studied for what the author undoubtedly intended it to be, namely a substantial (if not closely knit) and only partially satirical commentary on the problem of counsel. It might almost be called a treatise on counsel except for the fact that the author is concerned less with the technicalities of government than with the general problem of truth-telling in public life. But there is no doubt that he was preoccupied with the problem of counsel. The picture he has left of parliament and the law courts is vivid largely because he sought to bring that problem, so often discussed by his contemporaries *sub specie aeternitatis,* down to the level of events and into contact with the actual conditions of English life. His willingness to work close to the data of experience occasionally makes it possible to examine such academic concepts as those of law and kingship. But it must be remembered that he was not a man trained in the subtleties of medieval philosophy. He was a practical man, probably a member of the lesser gentry, perhaps one who had actually served in parliament as a knight of the shire; and his purpose was practical, despite the conventional trappings of dream allegory and personification in which he clothed his argument.

[1] *Mum and the Sothsegger,* ed. M. Day and R. Steele, Early English Text Society, Original Series 199 (London, 1936). The first of the two fragments edited under the above title was known for some time and edited by Thomas Wright under the title *Richard the Redeless* in *Political Songs,* Rolls Series (1859), I, 368 ff.

[2] "The Relation of English members of Parliament to their Constituencies in the Fourteenth Century; a Neglected Text", originally in *L'organisation corporative du Moyen Age à la fin de l'Ancien Régime* (Louvain, 1939), III, and reprinted in *Liberties and Communities in Medieval England* (Cambridge, 1944).

[3] "Theories of Monarchy in *Mum and the Sothsegger*", *PMLA,* LXV (1944), 26–44. Miss Cam expresses some doubts on this point (p. 245). For discussion of authorship and date and for biographical data see the editorial introduction, unless otherwise specified.

He appears to have set out to do two things: first, to examine the failure of the English monarchy under Richard II to provide the desired "abundant governance", a failure he traced to lack of good counsel, and, second, to explore the general problem of counsel in the immediate context of English life. In the process he managed to produce a work which, even though it survives in fragmentary form, occupies a unique position in the literature of counsel. Almost every writer in England during the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries who commented on the public scene (it was a period of unusually active public discussion) and who went in his comment beyond the mere narration of events (and most of them did, for it was a period more conducive to a sort of national introspection than to the jaunty patriotism of the Crécy era) laid special emphasis on the problem of counsel. The author of *Mum and the Sothsegger* alone marked off that issue as one capable of being treated by itself and worth considering separately. More than any of his contemporaries he used in his discussion of counsel the facts which he had either observed personally or had derived from a critical study of recent history. He approached his task in a spirit of realism quite unusual in the political literature of his day. And he was the first English writer we know of to explore at all fully the function of written discussion in public life. These tendencies point toward a new era, toward the Tudor pamphleteers in particular. They are matters of emphasis, to be sure, rather than of formulated ideas, for the author shared most of the habits of thought peculiar to an age still recognizably medieval; but they are indications not to be overlooked by the student of that transition from medieval to modern thought which makes the study of fifteenth-century English culture as challenging as it is baffling.

The idea of counsel, so pervasive in medieval thought, is a hard one for the modern scholar to pin down. It was clear then, as now, that good government depended on the ability of the governor to get the best information and advice available. To us, however, this is a truism which must be expressed in terms of a highly institutionalized society in order to have much meaning. To the medieval mind, even to the mind conditioned by the increasingly complex circumstances of life in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century England, it remained a satisfying statement of a great fact. The modern scholar must always be careful not to overestimate the degree of sophistication in the political consciousness of medieval England. He must remember es-

pecially that, even when precedents were being made which have come to be recognized as milestones of constitutional history, their full significance often escaped the contemporary commentator (if we may use so modern a term), who continued to think of government as an essentially personal thing, depending immediately on the qualities, especially the moral qualities, of the men involved.[4] A good king will seek good counsel; good men will give good counsel. And that, more often than not, is that. Literary commonplace, almost as much as moral generality, obscures the problem of counsel. "Wirk alle thyng by conseil" is a constantly recurring theme in medieval literature, applicable alike to public and private affairs,[5] and the "mirror of princes" formula deflected a good deal of thought on the subject into highly conventional channels having little or nothing to do with specifically English conditions.[6] The historian should therefore welcome *Mum and the Sothsegger* as a useful and refreshingly original guide.

Those politically critical years of the deposition of Richard II and the uncertainties of the early Lancastrian rule (the parts of *Mum* were written somewhere between 1399 and 1406) were a time unusually conducive to a discussion of the problem of counsel. Among the thought-provoking issues that faced the commentator in these troubled days the monarchy itself occupied a place of supreme importance. Cursed successively by the misdirected knight-errantry of Edward III, by his senile decay, by the minority of his successor, Richard II, and by that young man's ill-judged attempts at despotic rule, the crown appeared more than ever before in need of good counsel. Here was the hard core of practical politics that underlay the discussion of counsel during that period and also during the slightly more favorable circumstances of Henry IV's reign. In fact, the problem of providing the king with adequate and trustworthy counsel appears to have impressed men of the governing class more deeply than any question regarding the nature and powers of parlia-

[4] The medieval commentator was cut from pretty much the same cloth as the medieval preacher. See G. R. Owst, *Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England* (Cambridge, 1923), pp. 210–470.

[5] Cf. Curt F. Bühler, " 'Wirk alle thyng by conseil' ", *Speculum,* XXIV (1949), 410–412.

[6] On the "Mirror of Princes" tradition, see Wilhelm Kleineke, *Englische Fürstenspiegel vom Policraticus Johanns von Salisbury bis zum Basilikon Doron König Jakobs I* (Halle, 1937); Allan H. Gilbert, *Machiavelli's Prince and its Forerunners* (Durham, N. C., 1938), and "Notes on the Influence of the *Secretum Secretorum*", *Speculum,* III (1928), 84–98; *Secrees of old Philosoffres,* ed. Robert Steele, E.E.T.S., E.S. 66 (London, 1894), introduction. Useful bibliographical material may be found in Erasmus, *The Education of a Christian Prince,* ed. Lester K. Born (New York, 1936).

ment.[7] As was mentioned above, the medieval Englishman thought of government in personal rather than institutional terms, and it was to the persons immediately surrounding the king that he looked with most concern, and with not a little suspicion. Parliament, of course, was itself one of the essential institutions through which counsel reached the king. That, indeed, had long been recognized as its primary function. Its task was essentially that of providing the data upon which legislative action could be taken and policy built. It was, moreover, a task which was generally understood, its importance freely admitted. The same could not be said of the other major institution in the process of counsel, the king's chosen council, and most of the constitutional controversy during the period under review centered upon it. Throughout the period, therefore, efforts were constantly being made to define the form and function of the council. By the early part of the following century it is apparent from their petitions that the keener minds among the commons had begun to see the need for a new technique of counsel. They were by no means interested in limiting the prerogative of the king, which they took pretty much for granted, or in controlling his council. On the contrary, an improved system of counsel was intended to strengthen the executive and to make of it the instrument of that "abundant" government which they considered the essential characteristic of all good rule.[8] As S. B. Chrimes tells us, "a great part of the constitutional history of England in the medieval period might be said . . . to be a commentary, not upon *Magna Carta,* but upon the simple fact of the king's crying need for counsel and ever more counsel".[9]

The same problems of national life that had impressed the representatives of the commons with the need for an improved technique of counsel had stimulated also an unprecedented literature of comment and criticism in the world beyond parliament. For the first

[7] J. E. A. Joliffe, *The Constitutional History of Medieval England* (London, 1937), p. 455. This is not the place for a bibliography on the medieval parliament, but the reader may be interested in the reviews of recent scholarship contained in the following articles: G. L. Haskins, "Parliament in the Later Middle Ages", *American Historical Review,* LII (1947), 667–683; G. Templeman, "The History of Parliament to 1400 in the Light of Modern Research", *University of Birmingham Historical Journal,* I (1948), 202–231; Robert S. Hoyt, "Recent Publication in the United States and Canada on the History of Representative Institutions before the French Revolution", *Speculum,* XXIX (1954), 356–377.

[8] Joliffe, pp. 455–466. This book contains what is still the best treatment of the council in the period under review. See also S. B. Chrimes, *An Introduction to the Administrative History of Medieval England* (New York, 1952), p. 245. For the text of such petitions, see, for example, *Rotuli Parliamentorum,* II, 322, III, 221, 585.

[9] S. B. Chrimes, *English Constitutional Ideas in the Fifteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1936), p. 39.

time in English history laymen as well as clerics surveyed the national scene, and did so in a profoundly critical and reflective mood. Gower, the literary and didactic layman, drawn in the course of his long career ever closer to the study of public affairs,[10] Langland, the mystical clerk who brought a poet's insight to bear on the temporal structure of society as well as on its spiritual condition,[11] the author of *Mum and the Sothsegger,* that shrewd observer of parliament, Hoccleve, the clerical court poet of a slightly younger generation,[12] and the several authors of lesser political verse, many of whom were capable of penetrating well below the surface of public life,[13] all agreed that good government depended on good counsel. Curiously enough this literature does not reflect the concern of the commons in parliament for a more clearly defined council. It treats the problem of counsel in terms of the moral basis underlying all human relationships. The political context is clearly English, but the problem remains a universal one. It is not until Sir John Fortescue wrote his *Governance of England*[14] that council reform received clear and specific treatment in a political pamphlet. Even the author of *Mum and the Sothsegger,* though somewhat more realistic in his handling of political issues than other writers of his generation, appears to have taken the position of the council for granted, preferring no doubt to emphasize the role of the representatives of the commons and the possibilities to be found in extra-parliamentary discussion.

The relationship between the two fragments of *Mum and the Sothsegger* (referred to by the editors as Fragments R and M) is not entirely clear. The editors are undoubtedly correct in assuming that both are by the same author. Certainly they are closely related in substance. Fragment R, hitherto known, aptly enough, as *Richard the Redeless,* is an analysis of the reasons for the failure of Richard II,

[10] E. g., *Mirour de l'Omme,* in *The Complete Works of John Gower,* ed. G. C. Macaulay (Oxford, 1899–1902)—hereafter cited as *Works*—I, lines 22225 ff.; *Vox Clamantis, Works,* IV, Liber VI, vii, lines 529–532; *Confessio Amantis, Works,* II, Prologue, lines 157–158; *Carmen super multiplici viciorum pestilencia, Works,* IV, 346.

[11] Langland's concern for good counsel is implicit in, for example, the prologue to the B-text of *Piers Plowman,* ed. W. W. Skeat (Oxford, 1886).

[12] E. g., Thomas Hoccleve, *The Regement of Princes,* ed. F. J. Furnivall, E.E.T.S., E.S. 121–124 (London, 1918–20), stanza 695.

[13] Among the anonymous verse-writers to have something important to say on counsel, the most interesting is the author, probably a cleric, of a number of short poems printed in *Twenty-six Political and other Poems,* ed. J. Kail, E.E.T.S., O.S. 124 (London, 1904). See especially poems IV, XII, XIII. See also *The Crowned King,* printed in *Piers Plowman,* Part III, ed. W. W. Skeat, E.E.T.S., O.S. 54 (London, 1873), pp. 523 ff.

[14] *The Governance of England,* ed. C. Plummer (Oxford, 1885), pp. 116–157. Fortescue's contemporary, George Ashby, also recognized the problem, but treated it in much less specific terms in *The Active Policy of a Prince,* ed. M. Bateson, E.E.T.S., E.S. 76 (London, 1899), e.g. lines 807–813.

all of which stem from lack of counsel. Fragment M is a more general commentary on the subject of good counsel. Taken together they constitute quite logically two parts of what may well have been a considerable volume built around the idea of good counsel and applied to the contemporary situation. The two parts do not appear, however, to have been written at the same time. The first was written before the death of Richard, the second certainly some time thereafter. It is quite possible that they were composed and circulated in separate form. But they reflect a fundamental unity of thought and singleness of purpose on the part of the author.

In Fragment R the author tells sadly of how the young king ruined the good prospects of his reign by keeping inferior councilors. In characteristically homely speech he criticises especially his choice of young men.

> For it fallith as well to fodis / of xxiiij yeris,
> Or yonge men of yistirday / to yeue good redis,
> As becometh a kow / to hoppe / in a cage![15]

Their folly is demonstrated by a foppish and extravagant attention to dress which deeply offends the author's puritan soul. More serious was the fact that Richard's perverse choice of councilors aggravated the problem of over-mighty subjects. The poet shared the anxiety of most writers of his period when they saw the rising power of great lords threatening that of the king and undermining the efficiency of the central government. Woe to the house, he says, when the servants are equal to the master. Richard's courtiers had plucked away his power.[16] Government was decaying at the root, and, through the vicious practice of livery and maintenance, the disease was spreading to the branches. Richard himself, our poet says, had granted badges and liveries so profusely and so indiscriminately that they cumbered the land. The poor were systematically robbed and the law perverted to serve the selfish ends of great maintainers.[17] Maintenance undermined public order and lessened the prestige of the central government by abusing the law-courts. The author treats this most serious side of the problem with unusual understanding. Gower had condemned the system in good set terms, but he had failed to connect it explicitly with the central government; he had

[15] *Mum*, R, III, lines 260–262.
[16] *Ibid.*, R, I, lines 52, 65–71.
[17] *Ibid.*, R, II, lines 28–80. See K. B. MacFarlane, "Bastard Feudalism", *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, XX (1945), 161–180, for excellent background material on the subject of maintenance.

considered it largely as a local evil, the result of individual perversity.[18] The author of this poem sees it as a problem of public order which immediately concerns the king and the state. It is a serious thing when the people lose faith in the power of the government to protect life and property by law and when the aristocracy no longer respects it.[19]

The folly of Richard and the selfishness of his advisers had also the effect of undermining the royal finances.[20] The king's household became too large and expensive, with the result that the king could not keep within his ordinary revenue from fines, forfeitures, law-fees, and the duty on wool, but was forced to go to the people, who could ill afford his exactions. There had been what the purveyors had taken from poor people, and

> Withoute preiere at a parlement / a poundage biside,
> And a fifteneth / and a dyme eke,
> And with all the custum of the clothe . . .[21]

And still the government had to depend on credit. When all else failed a "preuy parlement" was ordered and pressure put on the representatives to grant more funds.[22]

Fragment R, then, gives a picture, perhaps a trifle colored, of a kingdom in which things have gone badly awry and where, especially, the rights of subjects have been overstepped by a poorly advised and impoverished crown. Fragment M may be considered a semi-allegorical discussion of the remedy. It tells of the conflict of Truthteller or Sothsegger with Mum. The latter apparently represents either the way of least resistance in public life, the way of those who keep the truth from the king out of a misplaced sense of prudence, or the actively iniquitous way of those who pervert the truth into flattering counsel for their own private ends.[23] Sothsegger stands for the tougher moral fibre that causes a man to speak out even when the truth is disagreeable or dangerous. "Yn man-is herte his hovsing is."[24] Sothsegger might almost be said to stand for the same quality of right thinking on the part of the responsible citizen as Langland

[18] E. g., *Mirour de l'Omme,* lines 23317–23328.
[19] *Mum,* R, III, lines 310–311; R, III, lines 317–342; M, lines 1565–1583.
[20] *Ibid.,* R, IV, passim.
[21] *Ibid.,* R, IV, lines 13–16.
[22] *Ibid.,* R, IV, lines 22–38.
[23] *Ibid.,* M, lines 232–276.
[24] *Ibid.,* M, line 1224. Cf. lines 1247–1248.

meant to convey by his character Kind-Wit.[25] But, whereas Langland was concerned principally about the dangers of Mede (avarice) as the force which ultimately destroys truth and justice, the *Mum* author is preoccupied with the problem of bringing practical advice to bear in the actual administration of the country.

A truthteller is the most necessary of all officers in a king's household, or for that matter in the retinue of any other lay lord.[26] For the lack of his services Richard lost his kingdom, and, the author hints, there is danger that even the comparatively well-ordered household of Henry IV may suffer from his absence.[27] Yet there is a general feeling that to tell the truth to the king is unwise and dangerous, and Mum prospers mightily the while.[28] Here, then, is a problem that weighs heavily on the poet's mind. He seeks everywhere for some clarification. He goes to the ancient authorities and to the "Seven Sciences" at the universities, but none of them can help him. They tell only of how "goode gouuernance graciously endith",[29] not of the means by which that end may be attained. This problem of good counsel they suggest (perhaps significantly?) is a newfangled notion, "sum noyous nycete of the newe iette".[30] He goes to the clerical orders, but again fails to find his answer and in the process is propelled into a lengthy diatribe against the venality and general unworthiness of these men who were supposed to be the intellectual and moral leaders of the community. In fact, society in all its branches appears to be tied by self-interest to Mum and can therefore give but a biased answer.

Finally, weary of his search, he resorts to the standard device of the medieval poet with something on his mind and falls asleep to dream the answer he was unable to obtain while awake. In his vision a beekeeper (apparently something of an authority on society because of his long years of experience with those most social and exemplary insects) tells him what he knew already, namely that Mum was the source of most of the evils of the land. He goes on, however, to say that Truthteller may be found in the hearts of men, presumably men of good will. He may be found in the author's own

[25] *Piers Plowman,* B, Prol., lines 114–115:
And thanne cam kynde wytte • and clerkes he made,
For to conseille the kyng • and the comune to saue.
Cf. lines 118–120. Cf. also the quite different interpretation made by B. F. Huppé, "The Authorship of the A and B Texts of *Piers Plowman*", *Speculum,* XXII (1947), 578–620.

[26] *Mum,* M, lines 29–41.

[27] *Ibid.,* M, lines 206–231.

[28] *Ibid.,* M, lines 125–128, 232–276.

[29] *Ibid.,* M, line 377; cf. line 313.

[30] *Ibid.,* M, line 375; cf. line 311.

heart, and, in fact, the beekeeper suggests that the author do some truth-telling himself. This he proposes to do and at once proceeds to plan out a series of "books" of advice to the king and the lords.[31]

Such is the plan of these remarkable fragments. In the process of his argument several things become clear about the author's idea of counsel and of government as a whole. To him the king is very much the center of government, the source of justice. His position is one of great responsibility. He cannot live a life of worldly ease but must "laboure on the lawe / as lewde men on plowes."[32] If we assume the story of the bees to be a parable, the author also believed the king should rule by reason and "right-ful domes, / Thorough contente of the cumpaignie".[33] The purpose of these laws is the protection of the life and property of the subject, an emphasis which, by the way, runs throughout the poem. They must be administered "with loue well ytemprid".[34] Thus the king is hedged in by the gravest responsibilities to his kingdom. But they are responsibilities which appear to be enforceable by moral sanction only. There is in *Mum and the Sothsegger* little of the kind of political thinking which allowed Langland to say of the king "might of the comunes made hym to regne".[35] Even after the deposition of Richard II the *Mum* author seems not to have considered any constitutional check on the king. That event had come about chiefly because of the folly and misrule of the king and his councilors which finally impoverished the crown and alienated those elements (the commons for one) who might otherwise have been a source of strength. The author indicates no possible recourse had Richard maintained a powerful and efficient tyranny.

Among the most important of the king's responsibilities—possibly the one underlying all others—is the duty to seek out and listen to good counsel. Richard's evil advisers were the immediate cause of his downfall, but he was himself responsible for having them around him in the first place.[36] The author has little to say about the council as an institution. He seems to have taken the executive branch of government for granted and to have concentrated on the problem of

[31] *Ibid.*, M, lines 854–1351.

[32] *Ibid.*, R, III, line 267. On the political theory in the poem see the article by Ruth Mohl. It should be remembered, however, that the author of *Mum* did not speak the formal language of medieval thought. He appears to have been very familiar with the legal machinery, but more from a practical than from a theoretical point of view.

[33] *Mum*, M, lines 1036–1037.

[34] *Ibid.*, R, I, lines 9–19.

[35] *Piers Plowman*, B, Prol., line 113. See *Mum*, introd., p. xvi; cf. R, I, lines 76–79.

[36] *Ibid.*, R, I, lines 80–81.

getting honest complaints fearlessly reported. He can only assume that the king will have sufficient good will and self-interest to act upon this information and to "amende that were amysse into more ease".

> But yf the king might knowe that the comune talketh
> [H]ough grotz been y-gadrid and no grief amendid
> [A]nd hough the lawe is y-lad whennne poure men pleyne,
> [I] bilieue loyally oure liege lord wolde
> [Ha]ue pitie on his peuple for his owen profit
> [An]d amende that were amysse into more ease.[37]

It is knowledge of what the "comune talketh" that is the essence of good counsel. And that should normally reach the king through parliament,

> When knightz for the comune been come for that deede,
> And semblid forto shewe the sores of the royaulme
> And spare no speche though they spille shuld . . .[38]

Indeed, there is little indication in the poem that the author considered parliament to have any other function than that of airing grievances and protecting the property rights of the subjects. The members are delegates paid to tell the king of the problems of their constituents, and "passe no ferthere", and especially not to grant away their money except in case of war.[39] Now consent to taxation inevitably involved some consideration of the purpose for which extra grants were asked, for to the medieval observer taxation could only be justified by some dire emergency; and so the commons in parliament could hardly avoid some discussion of national policy. But our author sees their function primarily as that of a petitioning body which grants taxes in return for the amending of "griefs". His attitude in this respect is probably quite representative, for it is substantially the same as that reflected in parliamentary records themselves.[40]

Unfortunately the knights of the shire (our author has nothing to say about the borough representatives) do not always speak up boldly, as it was their duty to do. Experience, apparently personal, with the Shrewsbury parliament of 1398, where under pressure from

[37] *Ibid.*, M, lines 133–138.
[38] *Ibid.*, M, lines 1119–1121.
[39] *Ibid.*, R, IV, lines 44–52, 80–90.
[40] H. G. Richardson, "The Commons and Medieval Politics", *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4th Series, XXVIII (1946), 21–45, especially p. 32; *Rot. Parl.*, III, 336, 420.

the king's own retainers the commons had made him the unprecedented grant of the duties on wool and leather for the remainder of his life, had left the author with a low opinion of the average member's courage and integrity. The picture he paints of the bickering, the time-serving, the lethargy and the loose-jointed debates of that assembly, though probably not far from the historical fact,[41] is certainly far from his ideal. In the face of such a striking triumph for "Mum", the responsible citizen himself must speak up.

Thus, in his disillusionment with the institutional channels through which counsel should normally flow, the author is driven to explore the possibilities of extra-parliamentary discussion. There is nothing new about this part of the intelligent citizen's duty. (Like his contemporaries in parliament, the author was capable of investing quite fresh ideas with the sanction of immemorial custom.) It is, in fact, part of his ancient duty to his lord.

> And as my body and my beste / oute to be my liegis,
> So rithffully be reson / my rede shuld also,
> For to conceill, and I coughthe / my kyng and the lordis.[42]

Nor is this duty merely theoretical. Reason commands

> yif God haue grauntyd the / grace for to knowe
> Ony manere mysscheff / that myghtte be amendyd,
> Schewe that to thi souereyne / to schelde him from harmes.[43]

It must be done tactfully, for it is as personal a matter, we gather, as if the advice were tendered a fellow-subject.[44] But it must also be done courageously. He who sees a scandalous thing and does not denounce it "shal be demyd doer of the same deede".[45]

This duty does not fall equally on all subjects. It is principally the task of the responsible classes, the knights of the shire, for example, and the clergy and other learned men. The laborer he exempts. He cannot think of

> A kindely cause why the comun shuld
> Contre the king-is wil ne construe his werkes.
> I carpe not of knightz / that cometh for the shires,
> That the king clepith to cunseil with other;
> But hit longeth to no laborier / the lawe is agayne thaym.[46]

[41] Richardson, p. 44.
[42] *Mum*, R, Prol., lines 47–49.
[43] *Ibid.*, R, II, lines 72–74.
[44] *Ibid.*, R, II, lines 69–71; M, lines 1270–1272.
[45] *Ibid.*, M, lines 745–750.
[46] *Ibid.*, M, lines 1457–1462.

Rumor flies among these common people swiftly and dangerously,[47] so that they think they know more than the king's council and become accordingly uncooperative in their response to the laws.[48] The poet shared with most writers of his time, especially those who followed in the *Piers Plowman* tradition, a deep concern for the poor.[49] But the memory of 1381 was doubtless too fresh in the minds of propertied men to let them look upon popular agitation with equanimity. The laborer should be seen to, but not heard.

It is to men of letters and preachers that the author looks for this extra-parliamentary, informal counsel. The clergy, he suggests, have the greatest responsibility because of their learning and their position in society as guardians of the morality upon which all human relationship depends. For that reason he feels they are the more culpable for their refusal to criticize abuses fearlessly.[50] Men like himself, however, responsible members of the lay community able at the same time to present their ideas to the king and the ruling class in written form, have also an important function.

There is no doubt whatever that this poet interpreted his duty both literally and literarily. He was familiar with books and preoccupied with the idea of "book-making". Richard's misrule had made him consider frequently "For to written him a writte / to wissen him better".[51] So he determined to begin a treatise of admonition and advice. In his vision, the beekeeper who tells him how to find Truthteller also requests him to write down what he has heard, and to

> lete no feynt herte
> Abate thy blessid bisynes / of thy boke-making
> Til hit be complete to clapsying [sic].[52]

This book, fully bound, must be presented at once to the king for whom it is specially meant. Afterward let anyone else see and copy it who will. Inspired by the vision, the poet plans a series of books which he may actually have intended to elaborate later.

[47] *Ibid.*, M, lines 1388 ff.
[48] *Ibid.*, lines 1408–1412.
[49] *Ibid.*, M, lines 135, 1489–1497.
[50] *Ibid.*, M, lines 759–762, 1233 ff. An anonymous writer, author of poem IV in *Twenty-six Political and other Poems*, voices the same feeling that preachers and poets have a duty to advise the ruling class (see especially lines 81–84). See also *The Crowned King*, in which a "clerk" speaks to the king for the people.
[51] *Mum*, R, Prol., lines 30–31.
[52] *Ibid.*, M, lines 1280–1282.

Now for [to] conseille the king vnknytte I a bagge
Where many a pryue poyse is preyntid withynne
Yn bokes vnbredid in balade-wise made,
Of vice and of vertue fulle to the margyn.[53]

These lines tell us a great deal. They show the author taking his writing seriously, conscious that it is comment of a special kind. There is the moral preoccupation which he shared with almost all commentators of his day. There, too, is the determination, also characteristic of the time, to write in verse. The poet will write in verse not as a literary *tour de force,* but as a readable essay meant for a practical purpose in a day when verse was believed to lend dignity and memorability to any argument.

What were these books of advice to contain? Like Gower and Langland, he would treat society in its organic unity and human life as a seamless web. He would touch on most of the evils of the day. His books would range from abuse of the law courts to the immorality of the clergy, from royal finance to the tendency of some people to put faith in old prophecies.[54] He assumes the king and his council are as responsible for one of these evils as they are for another. Since the body politic can only be healthy when its various members are sound, it follows that whatever agency has responsibility for the larger unit must watch for any sign of vice in the various parts. A vicious or lazy clergy, for example, lies within the province of the royal administration for the simple reason that it constitutes a weakness in one of the most important organs of the social body.

Our author thought of his duty as a real one and of his contribution as tangible. One sometimes feels that such primarily moralistic writers as John Gower may have seen only vaguely the connection between what they wrote and their immediate public. The author of *Mum* was moved by a more definite purpose. He modestly begs the king to read his poem, and if there is anything wrong in it, to let that be corrected while still unpublished.[55] Moreover, he leaves little doubt as to the persons for whom he intended the work. It is primarily, of course, for the king. But he also had in mind the governing class as a whole. He mentions specifically "my kyng and the lordis",[56] and he had a special, if apparently forlorn hope, for "the yonge lordis . . . that neure reed good rewle / ne resons bookis".[57]

[53] *Ibid.,* M, lines 1342–1346.
[54] *Ibid.,* M, lines 1343 to end.
[55] *Ibid.,* R, Prol., lines 57–63.
[56] *Ibid.,* R, Prol., line 49.
[57] *Ibid.,* R, III, lines 113 and 119.

There is an undeniable freshness about this poet and his "bookis". It comes to a large extent from his ability to infuse the conventional forms of thought and expression with his own forceful and curiously original personality. But it should not lead the reader to overestimate the modernity of thought revealed in *Mum and the Sothsegger*. In order, therefore, to see that poem in its historical perspective, let us compare it, in one or two important respects only, with the pamphlets of the early and mid-sixteenth century, the first great era of modern public discussion in England.

What, more than anything else, marked the advent of modern political consciousness is a willingness to think in terms of constructive policy, not merely the reporting of grievances. It is this willingness, one might almost say this ability, which distinguishes the literature of comment in Tudor England from that of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. Many of the Tudor commentators were keenly aware of the casual forces shaping society. Not yet capable of putting in rational form a theory of social dynamism, nor willing to deny the spiritual basis of society, they nevertheless recognized the possibility of manipulating by legislative or administrative action the chains of cause and effect which lie this side of fundamental moral and spiritual causes, well within the province of secular government and equally within the capabilities of man's creative intellect. Adequately to document this tendency would require a separate article.[58] But it is necessary at least to notice it so that the distance may be the more accurately estimated between a More, a Starkey, a Hales, or a Morison, for all the inherited medievalism of their thought, and the author of *Mum and the Sothsegger,* for all his independence and native shrewdness. When, for example, More traces the connection between enclosures and crime,[59] when Clement Armstrong finds the answer to the problem of high prices and a declining husbandry in a reform of the staple,[60] they are talking in terms of modern policy-making, foreign to the medieval observer, but probably not beyond his grasp. When Hales has the doctor in his *Discourse of the Commonweal* approach public problems in these words:

> I knowe no meane to amende anie thing that is amisse, but eyther by an other president that is well, or by arte. . . . Yf the other way doe like vs better,

[58] A. B. Ferguson, "Renaissance Realism in the 'Commonwealth' Literature of Early Tudor England", *JHI,* XVI (1955).

[59] *Utopia,* Book I.

[60] "Treatise concerning the Staple", *Tudor Economic Documents,* ed. R. H. Tawney and Eileen Power (London, 1946), III, 90–114.

to doe it by arte, we must then seke oute the right causes of these effectes, and by takinge the cheife and efficient causes, these effectes be taken away that proceade[61]

he is talking a language which the author of *Mum and the Sothsegger* would scarcely have understood at all. Seldom, in fact, does the latter make a recommendation of a very specific or constructive nature. Good counsel is the radical remedy from which others must stem.

A notable exception is the suggestion he made for recouping the king's finances. A strong royal administration he believed necessary in order to preserve the peace. To be efficient it must have funds. For normal purposes these funds should come from the king's estates and the customary revenue granted him by law. But of recent years the king has been plundered by greedy nobles and his estates thereby seriously impoverished. He has, therefore, been forced to appeal to the people for extra taxes and even to abuse the custom of purveyance. Now the author, like most medieval writers, will not admit the need for general taxation except in case of war. In all other contexts he considers it, often with some justification, tyrannical, usually involving dishonesty in high places. And so the remedy is to restore the king's estates and revenue in order that he may live "of his own".[62] It was, in the light of fifteenth-century thought, a statesmanlike proposal, and one which Sir John Fortescue strongly advocated in the latter part of the century.[63] But it was essentially conservative, brought forth in an effort to restore the *status quo*. It is a measure of the political realism of the poet's thought, but it also reveals how deeply ingrained in his mind was the concept of the static society, of the ideal norm toward which all government must be guided.

No doubt that is also why he made so few other specific recommendations. If something is wrong, it is up to the king and his lords to make it right once the evil has been reported. Since what is wrong is simply a deviation from the generally recognized norm, the remedy lies implicit in the criticism. There is consequently little need in government for creative intelligence, only for good will and a sense of responsibility. And there is on the part of the social critic a responsibility primarily to see that the true state of things is made clear to the governors. For the same reason the author, an essentially practical man despite his dreams, saw no need for discussing political

[61] *Discourse of the Commonweal of this Realm of England*, ed. E. Lamond (Cambridge, 1893), pp. 104–105.

[62] *Mum*, M, lines 1626–1682.

[63] Fortescue, *Governance*, chs. viii and xiv.

or constitutional principles, even though he was deeply concerned over the problem of government and was writing at a time when, in the deposition of a king, and the maturing of parliamentary practice, precedents of the greatest significance to the historian were being established. He discusses English government primarily in terms of procedure rather than of principles, and, as far as it is possible to tell from the fragments of his poem, the deposition of Richard prompted him to no direct comment on the theory of monarchy. To him the machinery of government was as simple as its essentially protective function.[64] It required little definition, and right thinking on the part of those in positions of influence, expressed in the form of good counsel, would be enough to make it run smoothly.

Enough, however, of his limitations; they are, after all, comparative rather than absolute. Of almost equal importance is the fact that he undertook a realistic, if informal analysis of the problem of counsel and had some remarkably fresh things to say about the possibility of supplementing by written comment the ordinary channels through which counsel reached the executive center of government. It is here that he points toward the concept of citizenship which found expression in the early Tudor pamphlets. He lacked, of course, the mature perspective that came from humanistic training. He would have been incapable of so sophisticated a statement of the problem as More put into the mouth of Hythloday or Starkey into the dialogue between Pole and Lupset.[65] But he would have had little trouble grasping the point of the discussion. He had no experience in that close interdependence of government and opinion that characterized Tudor life. And he would no doubt have been appalled to hear John Hales say that he "would not only haue lerned men" heard on matters affecting the commonweal "but also merchaunt men, husbandmen, and artificers . . . frely suffered yea and provoked to tell theire advises in this mattier".[66] On the other hand he would have agreed heartily with the notion that responsible men should

[64] See above, n. 47. A contemporary writer expressed this position with classic simplicity in the following lines:

Whanne alle a kyngdom gadrid ysse
In goddis lawe, by on assent,
For to amende that was mysse,
Therefore is ordayned a parlement.

*Twenty-six Poems*, poem XIII, lines 1–4.

[65] *Utopia*, Book I. For an excellent analysis of More's views on this problem see J. H. Hexter, *More's Utopia, the Biography of an Idea* (Princeton, 1952). Cf. Thomas Starkey, *A Dialogue between Cardinal Pole and Thomas Lupset*, ed. J. M. Cowper, E.E.T.S., E.S. 12 (London, 1872), pp. 2–24. A useful edition in modern English has been made by K. M. Burton (London, 1948).

[66] *Discourse*, p. 11.

speak up—which was about as far as most of Hales' contemporaries were willing to go in those turbulent years of the mid-sixteenth century.[67] One anonymous writer of that period expressed himself in words which (with the possible exception of the typically Tudor reference to cause) the author of *Mum and the Sothsegger,* with his "book-making", would have understood perfectly:

> Yet for asmouche as I haue heretofore gyve[n] my Dilligence for the space of these iiij or v yeres to note and observe the present state of this wealth and Realme with all the Cawses and occasions bothe of the wealthe and of the Miseries in the same, I thought good to compare souche thinges as I haue noted in to a littlell boke, and to Dedicate it vnto your highnes.[68]

Clearly the first great era of modern public discussion did not burst into bloom overnight, and it is comforting to the historian, instinctively alert for any sign of origins, to see in the reign of Henry IV even a faint foreshadowing of the articulate Tudor citizen.

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[67] Men like Cheke, Becon, and Crowley spoke for an administration alarmed by popular uprising in arguing that, although every man ought to work for the good of the country, only those possessing the requisite wisdom and training should be heard on matters of policy: Sir John Cheke, *The hurt of sedicion* (London, 1549), sig. F iii; Thomas Becon, *The Policy of War,* ed. J. Ayre, Parker Society (Cambridge, 1843), p. 235; Robert Crowley, *The Way to Wealth,* ed. J. M. Cowper, E.E.T.S., E.S. 15 (London, 1872), p. 131.

[68] Tawney and Power, III, 312–345. Another of several similar examples may be found in the pamphlet *Pyers Plowmans Exhortation . . .* (London, 1550?).

# The Earliest Editions of Juvenal

A CENTURY and a quarter ago, there seemed to be no doubt concerning the chronological order of appearance of the earliest printed Juvenals. Dibdin had established this in his bibliographical account of the classics,[1] and his decisions were accepted without question by his contemporaries.[2] In the century following Dibdin's death in 1847, however, the chronology of the first printings of the great Roman satirist became, curiously enough, remarkably confused and beclouded. Not long ago, Professor Gilbert Highet,[3] in his excellent book on Juvenal, set forth the present doubts as to the proper order of appearance of the earliest editions and expressed the opinion (p. 317) that "an expert typographical investigation of the earliest printed editions of Juvenal's satires remains to be made". Since I had some part in creating the hesitation expressed by Professor Highet, it is desirable, I believe, to seek to disentangle the confusion that now exists. The occasion which caused the present writer to review the problem of the earliest printed Juvenals was the acquisition by the Pierpont Morgan Library just two years ago of one of these editions.[4] According to Dibdin, the first printings of Juvenal were the following: (1) [Rome: Ulrich Han, undated];[5] (2) [Venice: Vindelinus de Spira,] 1470;[6] and (3) Rome: Ulrich Han, [undated].

The present uncertainty concerning the *editio princeps* of Juvenal seems to have its beginning, as odd as this may be, with Robert Proctor's *Index*.[7] It is not often that the origin of a bibliographical

[1] Thomas Frognall Dibdin, *An Introduction to the Knowledge of Rare and Valuable Editions of the Greek and Latin Classics* (London, 1827), II, 141–143.

[2] For a recent appraisal of Dibdin as a bibliographer, see A. N. L. Munby, *The Formation of the Phillipps Library up to the Year 1840* (Cambridge, 1954), p. 113.

[3] *Juvenal the Satirist* (Oxford, 1954), p. 206; one finds here the entirely correct statement that "Juvenal's satires were first printed by Ulrich Han, probably in Rome between 1467 and 1469". In the note attached to this quotation, Professor Highet has confused the two Han printings.

[4] The Andrew Fletcher copy of Hain 9660; compare Frederick B. Adams, Jr., *Fourth Annual Report to the Fellows of the Pierpont Morgan Library* (New York, 1953), pp. 24–26.

[5] Dibdin (*loc. cit.*) cites only two copies, that in the collection of Count D'Elci of Florence and the one "in the Magliabecchi library in the same city". The first is now in the Biblioteca Laurenziana (D'Elci 981), but there is no copy in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale in Florence, which includes the Magliabecchi library. Apparently Dibdin was misled by the notice in Ferdinando Fossi's catalogue (*Catalogus codicum saeculo XV impressorum qui in publica bibliotheca magliabechiana Florentiae adservantur* [Florence, 1793–95], III, 91). This does not, however, refer to a Magliabecchi book but to a volume belonging to the Duke of Cassano. See note 11 below.

[6] The *Catalogue of Books Printed in the XVth Century now in the British Museum* (London, 1908–49), v, 582, maintains that neither Johannes nor Vindelinus de Spira printed this edition, but that it is the work of an anonymous press.

[7] *An Index to the Early Printed Books in the British Museum: from the Invention of Printing to the Year MD. with Notes of those in the Bodleian Library* (London, 1898–1903).

problem can be laid to Proctor's door; more often it was he who resolved doubts. In his *Index,* however, the Bodleian Library was credited with a copy of the edition listed as Hain 9661.[8] But when I requested a microfilm of this book from the Bodleian Library, the Keeper of Printed Books in that institution, Mr. L. W. Hanson, informed me that Proctor had erred in crediting the Oxford library with that edition and that the Bodleian actually owned a copy of Hain 9660. Within a decade after the appearance of the *Index,* Isak Collijn had issued his catalogue of the incunabula at Uppsala,[9] basing his typographical assignments upon Proctor; that university's copy of Hain 9961 was accordingly described (no. 914) as: "[Roma: Ulrich Han, c. 1470.] 8°. Hain 9661. Proctor 3344."

A dozen years after the appearance of Proctor's work, Mariano Fava and Giovanni Bresciano published their *La stampa a Napoli nel XV secolo* (Leipzig, 1911–12). Under no. 237, they gave a bibliographical account of the edition identified as Hain 9661; it was there credited to the press of Ulrich Han largely on the strength of Proctor's determination for his no. 3344,[10] though the Italian bibliographers failed to note that the volume which they were describing was not printed with the same type as that used in the production of the book listed as Proctor 3344. Since it subsequently became clear that Proctor 3344 did not correspond to Fava-Bresciano 237, there was then no bibliographical evidence, apart from the statement of Ferdinando Fossi, to connect the printing of this work with the press of Ulrich Han in Rome.

In 1906, and again in 1926, the John Rylands Library at Manchester held special exhibitions of the *editiones principes* of the classics.[11] In both exhibitions, and in the catalogues issued in connec-

[8] Ludwig Hain, *Repertorium bibliographicum* (Stuttgart, 1826–38). The numerical order, of course, implies that Hain considered his no. 9660 as the earlier; he assigned his no. 9661 either to Riessinger at Naples or to Han at Rome. Hain 9661 was printed with Han's second type and Hain 9660 with the same printer's third type. Proctor (p. 226, no. 3344) incorrectly notes that Hain 9661 was printed with Han's type 3.

[9] *Katalog der Inkunabeln der kgl. Universitäts-Bibliothek zu Uppsala,* (Uppsala, 1907). On p. XI, Collijn explains: "Ferner sind überall Verweise auf Proctors Index gegeben worden, sofern die betreffende Inkunabel dort verzeichnet ist, und seine Bestimmungen sind benutzt worden, wenn nicht meine eigenen Untersuchungen zu abweichenden Ergebnissen geführt haben."

[10] "Il Fossi (III, 92) aveva assegnato ad Ulrico Han quest' edizione . . . Gli studii recenti hanno mostrato che il Fossi s' era bene apposto (Pr. 3344)" (II, 189).

[11] The Rylands copy of Hain 9661 was the copy formerly belonging to the Duke of Cassano (see note 5 above). Compare the note in *The John Rylands Library Manchester: A Brief Historical Description of the Library and its Contents, with Catalogue of the Selection of Early Printed Greek and Latin Classics Exhibited . . . MCMVI* (Manchester, 1906), pp. 9–10: "The three books in the [Cassano] collection that had special attractions in Lord Spencer's eyes were an unique edition of Horace, printed by Arnoldus de Bruxella at Naples in 1474, an undated Juvenal, printed by Ulrich Han at Rome before 1470, and an Aldine

tion with them, the Juvenal displayed was the library's copy of Hain 9660.[12] The catalogues added the further decisive note:[13] "Of extreme rarity. This impression may be earlier than the Venetian one, dated 1470, printed by Vindelinus de Spira, of which the library possesses a copy."

The next significant pronouncement concerning the earliest editions of Juvenal came in 1938 from the pen of Professor George L. Hendrickson. In his study of the Marston collection of Juvenals at Yale, Professor Hendrickson wrote:[14]

> The Juvenal which commonly bears the title of *editio princeps* (not in our collection) is attributed to Ulrich Hahn, printer at Rome. It is without date, but is generally assigned to 1470. Unless evidence can be adduced for assigning it to an earlier time, there seems to be no reason why our [Venetian] edition, bearing the date of 1470, should not dispute with it the title of *editio princeps*. It was in fact so designated by Moss (Vol. II, p. 142).

Whether Hain 9660 or Hain 9661 was here referred to as the Han edition is not self-evident; in any event, Professor Hendrickson took cognizance of only a single Han printing of Juvenal.

The most recent setting forth of the chronological order of the earliest Juvenals is that contributed by the Italian *Indice generale*.[15] Here are the first five editions as there listed:

5564. [Rome: Ulrich Han, c. 1469]. Hain 9661. Fava-Bresciano 237.
5565. [Venice: unassigned], 1470. Hain 9665. BMC V:582.
5566. [Venice: Vindelinus de Spira, c. 1471]. Hain 9672. BMC V:164.
5567. Fivizzano: Jacopo da Fivizzano, [c. 1472]. Hain 9662. BMC VII:955.
5568. [Venice: Printer of Duns Scotus, c. 1472]. Hain 9676. BMC V:212.

The Han edition with the poetic colophon (Hain 9660) is now listed in tenth place, under no. 5573. This order too seemed to this writer in need of revision. With this in view, microfilms of the copies

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Petrarch of 1501, on vellum, with the manuscript notes of Cardinal Bembo. Could he have obtained these three volumes, there is reason to believe he would have been willing to forgo the rest of the Cassano Library, fine as it was, but the fates decreed otherwise."

[12] "Of the fifty principal Greek and Latin authors, we are fortunate in being able to show the first printed edition." *The John Rylands Library Manchester: Catalogue of an Exhibition of the Earliest Printed Editions of the Principal Greek and Latin Classics* (Manchester, 1926), p. v. The prefatory note is signed by Henry Guppy.

[13] 1906 Catalogue, p. 56, and 1926 Catalogue, p. 32. Ironically enough, the edition displayed was not that represented by the Cassano copy, one of the three prized items of this collection, but Lord Spencer's copy of Hain 9660 (cf. Dibdin, *Bibliotheca Spenceriana* [London, 1814–15], II, 117–119).

[14] "The Marston Juvenals", *Yale University Library Gazette*, XII (1938), 76.

[15] Teresa Guarnaschelli and Enrichetta Valenziani, *Indice generale degli incunaboli delle biblioteche d'Italia* (Rome 1943–54), III, 203–04.

of Hain 9661 in the Biblioteca Nazionale at Naples[16] and of the Fivizzano edition at the Huntington Library[17] were procured, the copies of the four earliest Venetian editions at Yale[18] were consulted, and a new survey of these editions (including, of course, the Han edition with the metrical colophon, Hain 9660) was begun, conducted with complete independence of previously published bibliographical views.

## I

If we turn first to the two editions described by Hain under the numbers 9660 and 9661, we find that the former proclaims Han's name in its verse ("anser") colophon; Alfred W. Pollard[19] brilliantly rendered the Latin stanza into English in these words:[20]

> Bird of Tarpeian Jove, though died the Gaul
> 'Gainst whom thou flap'dst thy wings, see vengeance fall.
> Another Gallus comes and thy pen-feather
> Goes out of fashion, beaten altogether.
> For what a quill can write the whole year through,
> This in a day, and more, his press will do.
> So, Goose, give over: there's no other plan;
> Own yourself beaten by all-conquering man.

Hain 9661, though silent as to the printer's name, was certainly produced at the same press; it was printed in Han's type 2 "cum spatiis interlinearibus" as Fossi had correctly observed. It is easy to demonstrate that the edition *sine nota* is unquestionably the earlier, and that the one with the "anser" colophon is the later. Hain 9661 was printed with Han's second type which was in use, according to the British Museum's incunabula catalogue, "in 1468 and 1469"; Hain 9660, on the other hand, displays the third Han type, known to have been employed in 1470 and 1471.[21] Finally, only Hain 9660 has the

[16] This and the copies at Florence, Manchester, and Uppsala seem to be the only survivors of this edition. The copy at Naples bears the press-mark: S. Q. IX B 19.

[17] Herman R. Mead, *Incunabula in the Huntington Library* (San Marino, 1937), p. 169, no. 3946.

[18] A copy of Hain 9676 (*Indice generale* 5568) is also found, and has been consulted, in the Pierpont Morgan Library; cf. Ada Thurston and Curt F. Bühler, *Check List of Fifteenth Century Printing in the Pierpont Morgan Library* (New York, 1939), p. 70, no. 806. Yale now also has a copy of the Fivizzano edition.

[19] *An Essay on Colophons* (Chicago, 1905), p. 89.

[20] In PML 44865, the colophon reads:

> Anser Tarpei custos Iouis: unde q*uod* alis
> Constreperes: Gall*us* decidit: Vltor adest
> Vdalricus Gallus: ne quem poscant*ur* in usum
> Edocuit pennis nil opus esse tuis.
> Imprimit ille die: quantu*m* non scribitur anno
> Ingenio haud noceas: omnia uincit homo.

[21] Thus *BMC*, IV, 18: "In use in 1470 and 1471".

Greek passages printed (albeit not very correctly) in that tongue, while Han's other edition leaves blank spaces where Greek words should appear.[22] The Greek type used by Han seems to have been a new fount of type introduced in 1471, and was therefore not available for an edition printed before 1470.[23]

In 1471, Han took as partner one Simon Nicolai Chardella of Lucca, and this partnership continued until October 1474. Since Chardella is not mentioned in the colophon of Hain 9660 and since books printed during the partnership bore either both names or were *sine nota,* the inference is that the Juvenal with the colophon was printed either before the partnership was formed or after it was dissolved.[24] The type, however, points to a period earlier than the partnership, and one concludes both from Burger[25] and from the British Museum's catalogue that the "anser" colophon was also characteristic of this earlier period. In any event, no book with the verse colophon produced after the dissolution of the firm is recorded. The edition described by Hain 9660 should therefore be dated as "not after 1471"; it may well have been printed early in that year. The date assigned to this edition by the *Indice generale* (ca. 1474) is obviously much too late for the bibliographical reasons set forth above.

From a textual study, too, one obtains the impression that Hain 9660 must be the later printing. Numerous slips, typographic as well as editorial, are common to the two editions, so that it seems quite plain that one edition was set from the other. Thus in Satire VII, both editions print lines 128–131 in this order, Hain 9661 reading:[26]

> Eminus. & statua meditatur prelia lusca.
> Tongilli magno cum neroceronte lauari

[22] The famous phrase "Know thyself" (Juvenal, Satire XI, l. 27) is printed in Hain 9660 as: νωθι σε αυτον. The Naples copy of Hain 9661 has the following text supplied in manuscript: γνωσ ῑ σε αυτων. The longer Greek passage in Satire IX, l. 37, reads in Hain 9660: ηθους Γαρ Γλυκεοσ ανδρα κιναιδον; in the blank space of the Naples copy (of Hain 9661), there is written: ηθους γλυκεισ ανδρα κηρα ιδον. This should read: αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐφέλκεται ἄνδρα κίναιδος.

[23] According to *BMC,* IV, 18. Robert Proctor (*The Printing of Greek in the Fifteenth Century* [Bibliographical Society, 1900], p. 29) was of the opinion that the Greek type "seems to occur for the first time in the Tortellius of 1471".

[24] No example of a book printed in type three during the life of the partnership is known to BMC, nor was it used by Han after the partnership had lapsed.

[25] Konrad Burger, *The Printers and Publishers of the XV. Century with Lists of their Works* (London, 1902).

[26] The correct order is found in the 1470 Venetian and Fivizzano editions, as well as in that by the printer of Duns. In the Naples copy, "neroceronte" has been corrected in manuscript to read "rinocerote" (rhinocerote—Duns), while Hain 9660 prints "kinoceronte". The first Venetian edition has "rinocerunthe", and the two Vindelinus de Spira editions, as well as the Fivizzano printing, give "rinoceronte".

Sic pedo conturbat. matho deficit. exitus hic *est*
Qui solet & uexat lutulenta balnea turba.

Here lines 129–130 are reversed, though the Naples copy of this Han edition contains the usual mediaeval sign for inversion (a letter B having been placed before the line beginning "Tongilli", while the line beginning "Sic" has an A prefixed).[27]

However, Hain 9661 contains gross errors not found in the other Han printing; this may be regarded as evidence of editorial care in the production of the later edition. Thus, the closing lines of Satire XIV read in Hain 9661:[28]

Si nondum impleui gremium: si panditur ultra.
Nec cresi fortuna nunqu*am* nec persica regna
Sufficiens animo: nec diuitie narcisci
Paruit imperiis uxorem occidere iussus.

This, of course, makes incomplete sense, the penultimate line having been omitted, which in Hain 9660 reads:[29]

Indulsit cęsar cui claudius omnia: cuius

Again, lines 219–227 of Satire VII appear thus in Hain 9661:[30]

. . . cede palemon
[220] Et patere inde aliquid decrescere. non aliter qu*am*
Institor hiberne tegetis niueiq*ue* cadurci
Dum modo no*n* pereat: totidem olfecisse lucernas
Sedisti qua nemo faber. qua nemo sedebat
Qui docet obliquo lanam deducere ferro
[225] Dum modo no*n* pereat: medie q*uo*d noctis ab hora
Quot stabunt pueri. cum totus decolor esset
Flaccus & hereret nigro fuligo maroni.

Here, lines 222 and 225 have changed place, again to the detriment of the sense; the correct order is observed by Hain 9960.[31]

[27] Professor Edward Robertson, librarian of the John Rylands Library, kindly informs me that their copy has been washed and that it is impossible to tell whether or not such marks were once there. For the use made of these letters by early printers, compare my "Stop-press and Manuscript Corrections in the Aldine Edition of Benedetti's *Diaria de Bello Carolino*", *PBSA*, XLIII (1949), 365-373, and my "Corrections in Caxton's *Cordiale*", *PBSA*, XLVIII (1954), 194–196.

[28] Fivizzano prints "cresi" as Han, while the "Duns" and 1470 Venetian editions have "croesi" and Vindelinus offers "cresci". In the Naples copy "sufficiens" (also found in the second Han printing) has been corrected by hand to read "sufficient", thus agreeing with all the other editions. "Narcisci" is also corrected to "narcissi" in the Naples volume.

[29] The line appears thus in all the other early editions. The Naples copy of Hain 9661 supplies the following text in manuscript: "Induxit cęsar cui claudi*us omn*ia: cui*us*".

[30] In line 226, Hain 9660 also reads "stabu*n*t". This has been corrected in the margin to "stabant", the reading of the other texts.

[31] The other Juvenals here discussed also have the correct order.

In themselves these facts do not necessarily prove that Hain 9960 is a later, corrected edition; the contrary could equally be true, and Hain 9661 might be a careless reprinting of the text of an earlier edition. In still other circumstances, however, one observes what appears to be a deterioration of text which can only be accounted for by assuming that Hain 9660 was set up from Hain 9661;[32] in illustration of this we may cite the following example. Lines 86–89 of Satire XI read in a modern text:

> cognatorum aliquis titulo ter consulis atque
> castrorum imperiis et dictatoris honore
> functus ad has epulas solito maturius ibat,
> erectum domito referens a monte ligonem.

In line 87 of Hain 9661, the battered type makes "imperiis"[33] look much like "imperus". The compositor of Hain 9660 apparently read the word in his "Vorlage" as "imperus" and, realizing that this was impossible, emended this reading to "impetus". That the reading "impetus" in Hain 9660 arose in this fashion seems evident, especially since no other way to account for this unique variant is at hand. Though occasionally the edition described by Hain 9660 has some errors not found in the other,[34] it must be admitted that, taken all in all, it presents a better text than Hain 9661.[35] In view of these findings, it is quite apparent that Hain 9660 is a corrected and improved version of the earlier Han printing, listed as Hain 9661.

## II

Turning now to the other early Juvenals, we may note with

[32] See, for example, the "rhinoceros" of note 26 above. Then, too, the edition of Hain 9661 lacks the printed Greek words found in Hain 9660. One would hardly expect a printer to revert to a more primitive practice once he possessed the technical equipment for a more perfect product.

[33] Without exception, the other editions have "imperiis".

[34] In Juvenal VII, 233, the Morgan copy reads: "Dum petit aut termas phebi balnea dicat". Hain 9661 has the second "aut" before "phebi" as required. Again, in line XI, 103, the second edition prints: "Vt phaleris gauderet equs. celataq*ue* cassis". Here the "equs" is doubtless a misprint for "equus" (as the other editions). It seems most unlikely that the "equs" is a graphic variant for the "ecus" preferred by Housman (*Saturae*, Cambridge, 1931, p. 105).

[35] For Ulrich Han's career, compare also Konrad Haebler, *Die deutschen Buchdrucker des XV. Jahrhunderts im Auslande* (München, 1924), p. 18 ff. Haebler stresses the fact (p. 20) that "klassische Texte sind seit dieser Zeit [partnership with Chardella] aus der Werkstatt des Ulrich Han fast gar nicht mehr hervorgegangen". This is still another reason for believing that the Juvenal (Hain 9660) appeared before the partnership began. In that case, too, one must assume that the first appearance of the Greek type was not, as Proctor had stated, in the Tortellius of 1471 (a product of the partnership) since it is used in the second Han Juvenal.

relief that the first Venetian edition (V) has the printed date 1470;[36] with this statement we have no reason or desire to quarrel. In connection with these north Italian editions, one point is most curious: the Italian *Indice* lists only a single Vindelinus de Spira edition (*Indice* 5566; Hain 9672), whereas two printings were certainly produced by the brother of Venice's prototypographer. The second edition (Hain 9672; $V^2$) was set up from its predecessor and closely resembles this edition.[37] It is possible, therefore, that among the dozen copies recorded by the *Indice* under no. 5566, there may be some which are actually the edition Hain 9673 ($V^1$). In order to arrange these two Juvenals chronologically, we are obliged to fall back upon the evidence of the types. The Juvenal represented by Hain 9673 was printed, according to *BMC,* v, 164 (IB. 19590), in Vindelinus's type 110 R in its second state.[38] This same authority states that "the first use of this state is perhaps seen in the Malermi Bible (IC. 19527), 1 Aug. 1471" (*BMC,* v, 152). In this condition, the type was certainly in use as late as January 1473 when Vindelinus printed with it an edition of Boccaccio's *De montibus* (*BMC,* v, 162, IB. 19561). The second Juvenal put out by Vindelinus de Spira (Hain 9672) has some gatherings printed in the third state of this type (with a *v* of the round-topped gothic variety), and this edition must, consequently, be of still later date. With the collapse of his business in the autumn of 1473, Vindelinus practically ceased printing,[39] so that we may assume that his second Juvenal was printed certainly no later than this period and, equally probably, not much earlier. The year 1472, finally, marks the earliest date connected with the presses operated by the "Printer of Duns, Quaestiones" (D) in Venice and by Jacobus de Fivizzano (F) in the town of the same name.[40] This is, consequently, the earliest date that one may safely ascribe to the Juvenals issued by these printers.

The textual examination of these editions has not, unfortunately, been very rewarding. It is well to bear in mind that, in studies of this sort, one can never be absolutely certain whether a printer used a corrected copy of some earlier edition or printed from some manu-

[36] For convenience in citing examples, sigla have been assigned to the several editions. The printer of V is discussed in note 6.

[37] Concerning the curious repetitions of lines in $V^1$ and $V^2$, compare the BMC's annotations.

[38] Since the publication of Miss Margaret B. Stillwell's *Incunabula in American Libraries* (New York, 1940), the Huth-Ascherson copy has been acquired by the Yale University Library. It is a pleasant duty to acknowledge the kind help cheerfully rendered by the staff of that library, particularly the interest taken in this study by Mr. Thomas E. Marston.

[39] Compare Haebler, *op. cit.*, p. 27, and *BMC,* v, ix.

[40] For further particulars, see *BMC,* v, 212 and vii, l–li.

script preserving the same *variae lectiones* as those in the manuscript to which his predecessor had access. A few points may, however, be reasonably assumed to be of value.

The first Venetian Juvenal gives no evidence of being descended directly from the Han printing. As we have remarked (note 26), this edition has Satire VII, 128–131 in the correct order (as also D and F).[41] On the other hand, Vindelinus de Spira, in both his editions, has here the curious line-sequence of the Roman Juvenals, which may indicate that Vindelinus either used the first Han printing[42] or that he employed a manuscript closely related to that used by his Roman colleague.[43] It seems certain that Vindelinus could hardly have set up his Juvenal from V and by sheer accident have inverted the lines, thus to arrive at the same order as printed by Ulrich Han.

Another possible connection between the first de Spira and Han printings may be seen in Satire VII, 206 ("nil praeter gelidas ausae conferre cicutas").[44] Here the earlier Han edition has "aut se" for "ausae"; with this slip both de Spira printings concur. The Naples copy, however, emends this by manuscript correction to read "ause" and thus agrees with all the other editions here discussed.

A third significant passage will be found in Satire IV, line 26. In a modern text, this reads: "piscator quam piscis emi; provincia tanti" and with this the second Han and the Fivizzano printings agree. However, V and D omit "emi", while the two Juvenals issued by Vindelinus de Spira leave out "quam". By what is certainly more than coincidence, the first edition put out by Ulrich Han also omits the "quam" (though it is present in the Naples copy by manuscript insertion). These three instances give some grounds for believing that Vindelinus may possibly have used the first edition by Ulrich Han in the preparation of his own first Juvenal, though the Venetian edition is no slavish follower of the Roman text. Vindelinus either possessed a corrected copy or corrected one against other manuscripts, if there

[41] Edition V has its own share of errors, which do not reappear in the other editions. Thus in the lines comparable to VII, 142–145 of a modern text, V omits line 144 (sardonyche, atque ideo pluris quam Gallus agebat); this line is present, however, in the later printings. The Yale copy had the line supplied in manuscript, but this volume has been thoroughly washed and cleaned so that the readings are now partly obliterated.

[42] In place of the proper name Iunco (at XV, 27), all Han and de Spira editions have "vinco"; V prints "iunio", a variant admitted by Housman; F has "iunco" and D offers "iuno".

[43] The de Spira editions do not invariably follow the Han readings. Thus, at VII, 59, the word "enim" is omitted (from: "fontibus Aonidum. neque enim cantare sub antro") by both Han editions and by V and D; the de Spira and Fivizzano editions have the "enim".

[44] In order to save space, lines have been quoted whether they provide complete sense or not. If not, the reader is referred to the Loeb edition (New York, 1930), which has provided the modern quotations.

be any truth to the supposition that he used the Han edition.[45]

On occasion, F corresponds with V and D; for example, the first word of VII, 13 is "Hoc" in FVD, while the two German printers have "Hec" (the latter being corrected to "Hoc" by manuscript emendation in the Naples example). Edition D sometimes has readings found otherwise only in V; here are a few examples:[46]

componis dona Veneris, Telesine, marito (VII, 25)
[V and D have "componis"; all the other editions have "conscribis", a good variant according to Housman, p. 64]

hi sunt qui trepidant et ad omnia fulgura pallent (XIII, 223)
[only V and D have "fulmina" for "fulgura"]

invidiam facerent nolenti surgere Nilo? (XV, 123)
[only V and D have "nolenti"; the other editions all have "uolenti", though the Naples copy has a manuscript correction in ink]

Again, F has an occasional variant in common with D, though the other Venetian editions differ:[47]

gaudia longa feras. tamen ima plebe Quiritem (VIII, 47)[48]
[F and D—and the second Han printing—alone have "ima"; the other Venetian texts and the first Han edition offer "una"]

te veto nec plana faciem contundere palma (XIII, 128)
[the same misprint "te uero" is found only in F and D]

However, no certain pattern emerges from this textual study; the editions now form one group, and now display other affinities.

In fine, then, it is possible, though by no means absolutely certain, that Vindelinus de Spira had access to the *editio princeps* of Juvenal issued by Ulrich Han when he was preparing his own first edition. The 1470 Venetian edition, since it does not depend on the Han printing, must derive from a manuscript source. Beyond these observations it would be hazardous to venture.

[45] Occasionally, all the Venetian editions have the same reading. Thus in XIII, 62 ("prodigiosa fides et Tuscis digna libellis"), the last two words are "digna tabellis" in V $V^1$ $V^2$ D, while the Han and Fivizzano editions provide the standard text.

[46] V and D have the same error ("Has pariter") in XIII, 208 ("has patitur poenas peccandi sola voluntas"); the other editions give the correct word.

[47] In VII, 138 ("sed finem inpensae non servat prodiga Roma"), the Han and Fivizzano editions have "obseruat non" for "non servat". In the Naples copy this has been corrected in ink to "non seruat" and the text thus corresponds to that found in all the Venetian Juvenals.

[48] The copies of F at the Huntington and Yale libraries have the misprint "longfa eras". In VIII, 79, only F and D (and the Han editions) have "esto" in the line "esto bonus miles, tutor bonus, arbiter idem"; the reading is "est" in V, $V^1$ and $V^2$.

## III

We may now conclude by summarizing our findings.[49] It seems certain beyond reasonable doubt that the *editio princeps* of Juvenal is the edition put out by Ulrich Han at Rome "sine ulla nota" (Hain 9661). The printing of this work may be judged to have taken place "not after 1469". In the following year there appeared in Venice the second printed Juvenal; the printer of this edition is unknown, but the work is dated 1470 (Hain 9665). The third edition of the works of the Roman satirist is the second printing by Ulrich Han;[50] this (Hain 9660), on the evidence of the types and of the historical facts relative to the press which are known to us, must be dated "before the autumn of 1471". This edition was followed by the first printing of the text by Vindelinus de Spira (Hain 9673) at Venice.[51] For typographical reasons, the date of this edition is set as "after 1 August 1471". It may never be determined whether the edition of Juvenal by Jacobus de Fivizzano or that by the shadowy "Printer of Duns" holds fifth place. If any evidence should ever be wanted as to the priority of the one or the other edition, it must be looked for in the archives of Venice and Fivizzano. I have not the slightest hesitation in assigning the second Vindelinus de Spira Juvenal (Hain 9672) to

[49] The problems that have here been investigated, although based upon a classical text, belong wholly to the Renaissance. It is through the study of printings such as these that we may come to a realization of the numerous difficulties and obstacles which beset the Renaissance printer, as well as the means that he found to solve and eliminate them. By investigations of this sort, we may arrive at a full knowledge of the nature of book-production and the means of distribution of printed books in Italy in the fifteenth century.

[50] Although we now have reason to believe that the use of the Greek type by Ulrich Han anticipated the date (August 1471) set by Proctor, it seems doubtful that the fount came into Han's possession as early as 1470. It is therefore not likely (though not, of course, impossible) that the second Han printing preceded the first Venetian one. In any event, this second edition by Han is the first to include the text of Persius, and this is the true *editio princeps* of that work (Morris H. Morgan, *A Bibliography of Persius* [Cambridge (Mass.), 1909], no. 1). Professor Morgan, however, added his small contribution to the confusion surrounding the earliest Juvenals which was just then growing. In describing the first Persius, he stated (p. 1): "Printed in Rome by Udalricus Gallus (Han) in 1469 or 1470, in the same type as his Juvenal, and the two are sometimes found bound together, whence it has been wrongly thought that they were so published." Morgan referred, of course, to the second Han Juvenal, not the first (no copy of which contains a Persius). The date for the first edition of Persius, therefore, is not "Rome, 1469 or 1470" (as Morgan asserted), but [Rome, summer 1471]. Incidentally, Morgan's second edition of Persius is that issued with the second Juvenal by Vindelinus de Spira (Hain 9672); this should now be dated in the summer of 1473. Morgan no. 3 appeared with the first de Spira Juvenal (Hain 9673); this is now the second Persius, printed "after 1 August 1471".

[51] The Greek words in VI, 195 (ζωὴ καὶ ψυχή) are printed in $V^2$ while a blank space is left in $V^1$. This is still another bit of evidence pointing to the conclusion that $V^1$ preceded $V^2$. The Greek words are printed in the second Han edition and are supplied in manuscript in the Naples copy of the *editio princeps*. For the significance of these details, compare note 32 above.

the spring or summer of 1473. Perhaps, then, this contribution may, in its small way, serve to provide that investigation of the earliest printed Juvenals which Professor Gilbert Highet hoped for not long ago.

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# The Renaissance Humanists and the Knowledge of Arabic

The philological study of Arabic by Europeans was long delayed and slow in development, considering the number, strength, and importance of the Moslem peoples and the value of their cultural contributions to western civilization. The Moslem conquest of Spain in the early part of the eighth century did stimulate an early desire among the Christians of the Iberian peninsula to learn the language of the conquerors. In fact, the ardor of the interest among the Spanish Christians brought forth the complaint of Alvarus of Córdoba (IX century) that the Christian youths were abandoning the study of Latin for that of Arabic.[1] Later the language of Islam, a religion branded a Christian heresy by the medieval church, fell into discredit, though interest was revived in the eleventh and twelfth centuries with the transmission to Europe of Arabic science and philosophy in Latin translation. Toledo, captured by Spanish Christians in 1085, was the outstanding center for the translators, most of whom were native Jews who had been Moslem subjects.[2]

A new stimulus for the study of Arabic was provided by the failure of Christian arms in the crusades. The new preaching orders now aimed at the peaceable conversion of the Jews, Moslems, and Mongolian Tartars. For this a knowledge of the oriental languages, among them Arabic, was considered essential. This did not, however, lead to a sustained study of Arabic, for the motive was not one of knowledge for its own sake. The Europeans in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries who acquired a mastery of the language number less than a score.[3] Mention of the work of a few will suffice.

The Dominican Raymund Martín, educated in the school of oriental studies founded by his order in Toledo in 1250,[4] was well

[1] *Indiculus luminosus,* in J. P. Migne, *Patrologia latina,* cxxi, 555–556.

[2] Charles and Dorothy Singer, "The Jewish Factor in Medieval Thought", in *Legacy of Israel,* ed. E. R. Bevan (Oxford, 1928), pp. 202 ff.; Moritz Steinschneider, *Die hebräischen Übersetzungen des Mittelalters und die Juden als Dolmetscher* (Berlin, 1893), "Die europäischen Übersetzungen aus dem Arabischen bis Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts", *Sitzungsberichte der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, philosophisch-historische Klasse,* cxlix, Abh. iv, 1–88.

[3] B. Altaner, "Zur Kenntnis des Arabischen im 13. und 14. Jahrhundert", *Orientalia Christiana Periodica,* ii (1936), 437–452, could identify only seventeen Arabists.

[4] Others who studied Arabic at Toledo were Arnaldus Guardia, Petrus de Cadireta, Petrus Ariam, Petrus de Puteo, Petrus de Sancto Felice, Didacus Stephani, Petrus de Canellis. See Ugo Monneret de Villard, *Lo studio dell' Islam in Europa nel XII e nel XIII secolo,* Studi e testi, cx (Città del Vaticano, 1944), p. 37.

acquainted with Arabic literature, as is evident in his *Pugio fidei adversus Mauros et Judaeos* (1278).[5] When Hebrew and Arabic studies were begun at Barcelona in 1281, he became the instructor in Hebrew. Far more active in the missionary enterprises among the Moslems and therefore a most zealous advocate of the study of Arabic was the Catalan Raymund Lull (1235?–1316). For nine years (1266–74) he studied Arabic with a Moorish slave, and then taught it for ten years in the Franciscan monastery at Miramar. His spiritual crusade for the conversion of the Moslems led him to north Africa on several occasions and finally to his death by stoning before the walls of Bougie in Tunis. Before his death he persuaded the king of Malorca to found a monastery for the study of Arabic at Miramar.[6] Among other scholars who knew Arabic was Michael Scot (1175?–1234?), whom Pope Gregory IX praised in 1227 for his knowledge of both Hebrew and Arabic.[7]

Meanwhile, in France, the eminent publicist of Philip the Fair, Pierre DuBois (*ca.* 1250–*ca.* 1312), proposed the establishment of European colonies in Palestine in order to carry on missions among the Moslems. He therefore advocated, early in the fourteenth century, that the pope established a school system in Europe for the training of boys and girls for life and work in the Orient. He naturally stressed the value of a knowledge of oriental languages, proposing that the students learn Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Arabic, and Chaldaic.[8]

Only the English Franciscan Roger Bacon (1214?–1294) advocated the study of languages, including Arabic, for reasons other than missionary purposes. His first reason for the study of Hebrew, Greek, and Arabic is "propter studium sapientiae absolutum" which includes the knowledge necessary to carry out the rites of the church. His second reason is for the better maintenance of commercial, judicial, and international relations. Thirdly, he wishes linguistic studies to aid in the conversion of the infidel, and fourthly, to reprove

[5] Menéndez y Peláyo, *Historia de los Heterodoxos Españoles* (Madrid, 1917), III, 251–255; Johann Fueck, "Die arabischen Studien in Europa vom 12. bis in den Anfang des 19. Jahrhunderts", *Beiträge zu Arabistik, Semitistik und Islamwissenschaft,* ed. Richard Hartmann and Helmuth Scheel (Leipzig, 1944), pp. 99-100; B. Altaner, "Zur Kenntnis des Hebräischen im Mittelalter", *Biblische Zeitschrift,* XXI (1933), 299.

[6] B. Altaner, "Raymund Lullus und der Sprachenkanon (can. 11) des Konzils von Vienne (1312)", *Historisches Jahrbuch,* LIII (1933), 190–193; Ugo Monneret de Villard, *op. cit.,* pp. 40–41; Fueck, *op. cit.,* pp. 100–109.

[7] P. H. Denifle and H. Chatelain, *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis* (Paris, 1889–1897), I, 110.

[8] Pierre Dubois, *De recuperatione Terre Sancte,* ed. Ch.-V. Langlois, (Paris, 1891), secs. 59–64; *Supplication du pueble de France au roy* contre le Pape Boniface le VIII, quoted *ibid.,* p. 49.

those incapable of conversion.[9] He feels that it is not only harmful, "but very embarrassing when among all the learned men of the Latins, prelates and princes do not find a single one who knows how to interpret a letter of Arabic or Greek nor to reply to a message, as is sometimes the case. For example, I learned that the Soldanus of Babylon [Egypt] wrote to my lord, the present king of France, and there was not found in the whole learned body in Paris nor in the whole kingdom of France a man who knew how satisfactorily to explain a letter nor to make the necessary reply to the message."[10] Bacon admitted that he himself did not write Arabic, but only Hebrew, Greek, and Latin.[11]

In the thirteenth century various efforts to associate the study of Arabic with either new schools or established universities were begun. In June 1248, Innocent IV arranged with the chancellor of the University of Paris for the upkeep of ten boys learned in Arabic and other oriental languages who were to be instructed in theology and then sent to the Orient as missionaries.[12] In 1254 a school for the study of Arabic and Latin was founded by Alfonso el Sabio in Seville.[13] In 1281 Arabic and Hebrew studies were begun at Barcelona, and ten years later the same language studies were instituted at the monastery of Xativa in Catalonia.[14] In 1286 Honorius IV wrote to the chancellor of the University of Paris concerning twenty clerks learned in Arabic and other oriental languages who had been sent there.[15] In 1298 Raymund Lull advocated the founding at Paris of a school for the study of Arabic, Tartar, and Greek.[16]

Individual and papal action to increase the study of Arabic led in 1312 to conciliar support. Because of the personal efforts of Raymund Lull,[17] the Council of Vienne directed the establishment of chairs of Greek, Hebrew, Arabic, and Syriac at the papal court and at the "studia generalia" of Paris, Oxford, Bologna, and Salamanca. Two teachers were to be assigned to give instruction and also to make

[9] Roger Bacon, *Opus majus,* ed. J. H. Bridges (London, 1900), III, part iii, "de utilitate grammaticae".

[10] *Ibid.,* p. 120.

[11] Roger Bacon, *Opus tertium,* ed. by J. S. Brewer (London, 1859), cap. xxv, p. 88.

[12] Denifle and Chatelain, *Chartularium,* I, 212–213; Charles Jourdain, "Un collège oriental à Paris au treizième siècle", *Revue des Sociétés Savantes,* 2 ser., VI (1861), 66–73.

[13] *Memorial historico español* (Madrid, 1851), I, 54–55.

[14] B. Altaner, "Raymund Lullus und der Sprachenkanon", p. 193; Ugo Monneret de Villard, *op. cit.,* pp. 40–41.

[15] Denifle and Chatelain, *Chartularium,* I, 638–639.

[16] *Ibid.,* II, i, 83–84.

[17] B. Altaner, "Raymund Lullus und der Sprachenkanon", pp. 190–219.

Latin translations of literature in their particular language. The expenses were to be met by the papal curia, the king of France (Paris), and ecclesiastical taxation (Oxford, Bologna, and Salamanca).[18]

The missionary enthusiasm which was responsible for this conciliar decree, in itself so full of promise, produced very little by way of practical results.[19] While money was collected in England there is no conclusive proof that even Greek and Hebrew professorships were established at this time at Oxford.[20] In Paris a converted Jew was appointed in 1319 to teach Hebrew and Syriac,[21] while Pope John XXII in 1326 asked the bishop of Paris for information on the teaching of the students of Hebrew, Greek, Arabic, and Syriac there.[22] It is extremely doubtful if any instruction in Arabic was established at Salamanca until one chair, "catedra de lenguas", was created in the sixteenth century for Hebrew, Chaldean, and Arabic.[23] Apparently nothing was done at Bologna and Avignon, or later at Rome, to carry out the decree.

The hopes of the preaching orders for the conversion of the Moslems and for a mass-conversion of the Mongols to Christianity were doomed to failure. The Christian position grew steadily worse. The Khanates of Persia became Moslem in 1316 and in a few decades central Asia did likewise. In the near east the Moslems were on the march under the leadership of the expanding Ottoman Empire, and only in Spain was Islam in slow decline. Although military crusades remained an instrument of papal foreign policy and also a part of papal finance, the ardor of the spiritual crusade declined, and with it the necessity for studying Arabic. However, in its nineteenth session, the Council of Basel in 1434 did renew, with no success as regards Arabic, the statute of the Council of Vienne.[24]

In the early Renaissance, Arabic manuscripts—like Greek manu-

[18] Denifle and Chatelain, *Chartularium,* II, i, 154–155. The Chaldaic language of the decree undoubtedly refers to the contemporary Syriac and not Chaldean as these languages were to be used for missionary purposes and not Biblical studies.

[19] B. Altaner, "Die Durchführung des Vienner Konzilsbeschlusses über die Errichtung von Lehrstühlen für orientalische Sprachen", *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte,* LII (1933), 226–236.

[20] R. Weiss, "England and the Decree of the Council of Vienne on the Teaching of Greek, Arabic, Hebrew, and Syriac", *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance,* XIV (1952), 1–9.

[21] B. Altaner, "Die Durchführung", p. 234.

[22] Denifle and Chatelain, *Chartularium,* II, 293–294.

[23] M. Bataillon, "L'Arabe à Salamanque au temps de la Renaissance", *Hesperis,* XXI (1935), 1–17.

[24] Johannes Haller, *Concilium Basiliense,* III (Basel, 1900), 198; *Sacrorum conciliorum . . . collectio* ed. J. D. Mansi, XXIX (Venice, 1788), col. 99.

scripts—were available for study only in small numbers.[25] Philological tools like glossaries, vocabularies, and dictionaries were almost non-extant. An eleventh-century Latin-Arabic glossary, composed in Spain, was used by Guillaume Postel, Joseph Justus Scaliger, and Franciscus Raphelengius in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.[26] Another *vocabulista in arabico,* now in the Biblioteca Riccardiana (No. 217) of Florence, was composed in Valencia, Spain, in the second half of the thirteenth century and contains about eight thousand Latin-Arabic words and an Arabic-Latin index.[27] A product of the missionary efforts of the thirteenth century, it is rich in words of the crusading period: arms, clothing, musical instruments, oriental herbs, plants, and gems; Christian theological terms and Biblical names of persons and places. The names of European cities, except Rome, are lacking.[28] A small Arabic-German glossary of the early sixteenth century is still extant in manuscript.[29] Arnold von Harff included a glossary in Palestinian Arabic of over one hundred words, the numerals to thirty, and the alphabet in the manuscript account of his pilgrimage to the Holy Land at the close of the fifteenth century.[30] Gabriel von Rattenberg included a vocabulary of about two hundred Arabic words in the German manuscript account of his pilgrimage (1527) to the Holy Land.[31]

Early printed glossaries were likewise few. A very inexact Arabic alphabet appeared in the *Peregrinatio in terram sanctam* of Bernhard von Breydenbach in 1486.[32] Torrentinus (Hermann van der Becke) added an appendix *quaedam communia vocabula de idiomate Sarracenico in Latinum translata de terra sancta,* consisting of two hundred twenty-five words and numerals in Palestinian Arabic, to his often printed *Elucidarius carminum et historiarum vel vocabularius*

[25] Early in the Middle Ages there had been some Arabic manuscripts in the episcopal library at York and also at Cluny: Leon Maitre, *Les Écoles épiscopales et monastique de l'occident depuis Charlemagne jusqu'à Philippe-Auguste (768–1180)* (Paris, 1866), pp. 242–243.

[26] R. Dozy, *Supplement aux Dictionnaires Arabes,* I (Paris, 1881), viii; *Glossarium Latino-arabicum,* ed. C. F. Seybold, *Ergänzungshefte zur Zeitschrift für Assyriologie (Semitische Studien),* Hefte 15–17 (Berlin, 1900). The ms. is now in Leyden (cod. Scaliger 231).

[27] C. Schiaparelli, *Vocabulista arabico* (Firenze, 1871) attributes this ms. to Raymund Martín.

[28] Fueck, *op. cit.,* pp. 106–109.

[29] Georges Colin, "Un petit glossaire hispanique Arabo-allemand du début du XVIe siècle", *Al-Andalus,* XI (1946), 275–281.

[30] *Die Pilgerfahrt des Ritters Arnold von Harff,* ed. E. Von Groote (Cologne, 1860), pp. 111–113; Hans Stumme, "Das Arabische und das Türkische bei Ritter Arnold von Harff", *Festschrift Ernst Windisch* (Leipzig, 1914), pp. 127–137.

[31] R. Roehricht and H. Meisner, *Deutsche Pilgerreisen nach dem Heiligen Lande* (Berlin, 1880), p. 402.

[32] Christian F. de Schnurrer, *Bibliotheca Arabica* (Halle, 1811), p. 234.

*poeticus* (1498). A few words, supposedly in Arabic, appeared in the remarkable drawings of the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* which Francesco Colonna had printed in Venice in 1499.[33]

The knowledge of Arabic in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries was mostly confined to a few medical doctors and philosophers interested in the original source of much of their science and philosophy, and to Italian merchants who valued a knowledge of Arabic for the rising trade with the Levant. The fifteenth century did see, however, the beginning of a sustained interest in Arabic among scholars, for to the earlier and continuing widespread missionary interest was added the philological interest of the humanists. Many of these became not only trilingual but even pentalingual through the addition of Arabic and Aramaic to their Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. However, the systematic collection of Arabic manuscripts and the production of philological tools, both printed and in manuscript, came only with the late Renaissance.

Of the Italian humanists, Giorgio Valla (1447–1500), who taught at Milan, Pavia, and Genoa, was among the earliest to evince an interest in Arabic. His library contained possibly five books in that language.[34] The outstanding humanist and scholar, Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (1463–1494), took up the study of Arabic in 1486. He had been engrossed in Hebrew studies, but turned to Aramaic and Arabic on the acquisition of a number of manuscripts in those languages.[35] His library also reflects his interest, for in 1498 it had seven books in Arabic, three of which were "related to the Bible and may have been in Hebrew with Arabic characters".[36] Pico's nephew,

[33] Francesco Colonna, *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (Venice, 1499), fol. 19a, ill. 11, an elephant's covering with a Greek and Arabic inscription; fol. 68a, ill. 37, Arabic, Hebrew, Greek, and Latin above the three-fold doorway. Cf. also Abert Ilg, *Ueber den kunsthistorischen Werth der Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (Vienna, 1872), pp. 85, 97, 103.

[34] J. L. Heiberg, *Beiträge zur Geschichte Georg Valla's und seiner Bibliothek,* XVI. Beiheft zum Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen (1896), p. 126.

[35] Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, *Opera* (Basel, 1572), I, 367, 377–378; G. Tiraboschi, *Biblioteca Modenese* (Modena, 1781–1786), IV, 95–108. One of his teachers was Guglielmo Raimondo de Moncada (Flavius Mithridates), a Jewish humanist who became a Christian in order to get a good education. In 1476 he taught Hebrew and Arabic at Palermo. Later he taught the Semitic languages and Greek at Tübingen, Louvain, Cologne, and in 1485 was back in Rome. On this theologian, philosopher, poet, and translator see R. Starrabba, "Guglielmo Raimondo Moncada, Ebreo convertito siciliano del secolo XV", *Archivio Storico Siciliano,* n.s., III (1878), 15–91; J. Carini, "G. R. de Moncada", *ibid.,* n.s., XXII (1898), 485–492; M. Steinschneider, *Die hebräischen Übersetzungen,* II, 986–987; Bernhard Walde, *Christliche Hebräisten Deutschlands am Ausgang des Mittelalters,* Alttestamentliche Abhandlungen, VI (Münster, 1916), p. 153; Umberto Cassuto, "Wer war der Orientalist Mithridates?" *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland,* VI (1936), 230–236; Gustav Bauch, "Die Einführung des Hebräischen in Wittenberg", *Monatschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums,* n. F., XII (1904), 78–80.

[36] Pearl Kibre, *The Library of Pico della Mirandola* (New York, 1936), p. 48.

the learned Giovanni Francesco Pico (1470–1533), also knew Arabic.[37] The growing Vatican Library of the fifteenth century also reflects the interest in Arabic, for the inventory of 1481 shows a total of twenty-two codices "in Arabico".[38]

One of the outstanding early orientalists of Italy was Teseo Ambrogio (1469–1540), who is said to have known eighteen languages and to have spoken ten. He is the author of the famous *Introductio in Chaldaicam linguam, Syriacam atque Armeniam, et decem alias linguas, characterum differentium alphabeta circiter quadraginta et eorumdem invicem conformatio* (Pavia, 1539) which includes a section *de Arabis, Punicisque consonantibus,* with an Arabic translation of a part of the third chapter of Luke. This work proved a very valuable philological tool for other orientalists.[39] Another Italian humanist who contributed greatly to the expansion of Arabic studies was Agostino Giustiniani (1479–1536). This bishop of Nebbia in Corsica, well-versed in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Chaldean, and Arabic, was known as a great collector of Greek and oriental manuscripts. In 1516, Pietro Porro published for him in Genoa two thousand copies of a polyglot Psalter, the justly celebrated *Psalterium Nebiense.* This work gave excellent service to those interested in oriental languages, for it presented the psalms in parallel columns in Hebrew, Chaldean, Greek, Arabic, and in three Latin versions.[40]

Part of the Italian interest in Arabic stemmed from the efforts to effect a union of the western church with the Christian churches of the east. Indeed, the first book to be printed in Arabic type was the *Septem horae canonicae,* addressed to the Egyptian Jacobites and undertaken at the direction of Pope Leo X. It was published in 1514, the only Arabic work to appear from the press at Fano.[41] The concourse of oriental dignitaries and envoys in Rome also stimulated interest in the Arabic language. Especially influential in Rome was the Arab traveler and geographer, Leo Africanus (al-Hassan ibn-Muhammad al Wazzan), who was captured in 1517 by pirates, sent

[37] Leandro Alberti, *Descrittione di tutta Italia* (Venice, 1577), fol. 361a.

[38] Giorgio Levi della Vida, *Ricerche sulla formazione del più antico fondo dei manoscritti orientali della Biblioteca Vaticana,* Studi e testi, XCII (Città del Vaticano, 1939), pp. 31–33.

[39] Angelo de Gubernatis, *Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire des études orientales en Italie* (Paris, 1876), pp. 38–39; G. Mazzuchelli, *Gli scrittori d'Italia* (Brescia, 1753–1763), I, i, 608–611.

[40] Gubernatis, *op. cit.,* p. 33; Jacques Le Long, *Discours historique sur les principales éditions des Bibles Polyglottes* (Paris, 1713), pp. 32–37.

[41] The complete title reads *Septem horae canonicae, a laicis hominibus recitandae, juxta ritum Alexandrinorum seu Jacobitarum Alexandrino Patriarchae subditorum Arabicae, editae a Gregorio Georgio Veneto, sub auspiciis Leonis X Pontificis Maximi in urbe Fano;* Schnurrer, *op. cit.,* p. 231, No. 235.

to Rome, and there temporarily converted to Christianity. His works, especially his *De totius Africae descriptione* and his *De viris quibusdem illustribus apud Arabes,* greatly increased Europe's knowledge of the Moslems and North Africa.[42] Leo also wrote an Arabic-Spanish vocabulary for the instruction of his pupil Jacob Mantino, the celebrated Hebrew physician.[43] He also taught Arabic in Rome, the humanist cardinal Gilles of Viterbo (Aegidius) being one of his pupils.[44]

Numerous other Italian humanists acquired some knowledge of Arabic. Johannes Annius Viterbiensis (*ca.* 1432–1502), the editor of the collection of forgeries known as the *Antiquitatum variarum volumina XVII,* knew Arabic,[45] as did Alexius Pedemontanus (d. 1550).[46] Hieronymous Aleander (1480–1542), the Italian scholar who opposed Luther at the Diet of Worms, diligently applied himself to the study of Arabic, Chaldean, and Hebrew before he was twenty-four years old.[47] Others who knew Arabic were Sanctes Pagninus of Lucca (1470–1541), the Dominican Hebrew scholar and grammarian who taught at Rome and Lyons;[48] Bernardino Baldi (1553–1617), the mathematician;[49] and the Sicilian humanist Antonio Flamminio (Biaxander, *fl.* late 15th and early 16th centuries), whose Arabic manuscripts were later added to those of the Vatican Library.[50] Gian Francesco Burana, the Veronese philosopher and doctor of medicine who edited the works of Aristotle (Venice, 1552), is said to have known Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and Arabic.[51] Angelus Caninius of Anghiari (d. 1557) was famous for his profound knowledge of Greek, Latin, Hebrew, Syriac, and other oriental languages. Caninius taught at Venice, Padua, Bologna, Rome, in Spain, and at Paris, at which latter place Andreas Dudith, the Hungarian humanist, was one of his pupils. His work entitled *Institutiones linguarum Syriacae,*

[42] *A History and Description of Africa,* tr. John Pory (1600), Hakluyt Society (London, 1896), 3 vols. The *De viris* (1527) may be found in J. A. Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Graeca,* XIII (Hamburg, 1726), 259–294.

[43] Hartwig Derenbourg, "Leon Africain et Jacob Mantino", *Revue des Études Juives,* VII (1883), 283–285.

[44] J. Widmanstetter, *Liber sacrosancti Evangelii* (Vienna, 1555), fol. 12b. Widmanstetter considered Aegidius almost the only Christian truly versed in Arabic letters.

[45] Paul Colomiès, *Italia et Hispania orientalis sive Italorum et Hispanorum qui linguam hebraeam vel alias orientales excuderunt vitae* (Hamburg, 1730), pp. 9–10.

[46] *Ibid.,* p. 72; Mazzuchelli, *op. cit.,* I, 464–465.

[47] Cf. the dedication by Aldus Manutius to his 1504 edition of Homer's *Iliad;* J. Paquier, *L'humanisme et la réforme: Jérome Aléandre* (Paris, 1900), pp. 20–21.

[48] Colomiès, *op. cit.,* pp. 52–56.

[49] *Enciclopedia italiana,* V (1930), 943; G. Tiraboschi, *Storia della letteratura Italiana,* VII, iii (Firenze, 1812), 1063.

[50] G. Levi della Vida, *op. cit.,* pp. 111, 159ff.

[51] Mazzuchelli, *op. cit.,* II, iv, 2424; Gubernatis, *op. cit.,* p. 45; Colomiès, *op. cit.,* p. 57.

*Assyriacae et Thalmudicae, una cum Aethiopicae et Arabicae collatione* (Paris, 1554) presented a method for the apprehension of oriental languages which was much esteemed by scholars.[52]

An Italian churchman famous for his knowledge of oriental languages and of Greek was Leonard Abel of Malta (1541–1605). Papal interpreter of Arabic in Rome, bishop of Sidon, and nuncio to the orient for four years (1583–87), Abel collected many oriental manuscripts including one hundred fifty in Arabic. He made the first Arabic translation of the Union Decree of the Council of Florence and was active in getting oriental support for the calendar reform of Pope Gregory XIII. He left unpublished an Arabic grammar and a work entitled *De Christianorum orientalium statu.*[53] Other Italian scholars who knew Arabic were Giuseppe Tramezzino of Venice,[54] Virgilio Zavarisi, a poet and jurisconsult of Verona,[55] and Julius Caesar Scaliger, the father of Joseph Justus Scaliger.[56]

In Spain numerous humanists added Arabic to their knowledge of the classical languages and Hebrew. This was, of course, partly because of the presence of the Moslems within the state and also of the continuation of the earlier missionary tradition. However, these factors were being nullified since the idea of a pacific crusade became less important to the Spaniard as the Moslems came under the control of the state and the Inquisition. Although, in France, Lefèvre d'Etaples, Charles de Bouelles, and others revived Lullism with its Christian antagonism to Islam early in the sixteenth century, to the Spaniards the problem had become by that time one for the police and clerical inquisitors, an internal political matter, not one of great religious significance. This same political antagonism toward the Moslems in Spain greatly affected the study of Arabic in Spain, for besides the suspicion leveled by the Catholic Church against anyone interested in Arabic and Islam, the vast destruction of Arabic books and manuscripts meant a serious loss of Arabic literature and of philological tools for the study of Arabic. Because of prohibitions and pressures, the Moslems themselves were fast losing their knowledge of Arabic. In 1462, Isa de Gebir, the Moslem mufti of Segovia, recog-

[52] *Ibid.*, pp. 80–83; Pierre Bayle, *Dictionnaire historique et critique,* II (1740), 37–38; G. Tiraboschi, *op. cit.,* p. 1062.

[53] Levi della Vida, *op. cit.,* pp. 200–204; J. Schmid, "Zur Geschichte der Gregorischen Kalenderreform", *Historisches Jahrbuch,* III (1882), 588–593; Colomiès, *op. cit.,* pp. 123–124; Mazzuchelli, *op. cit.,* I, 22–23.

[54] Gubernatis, *op. cit.,* p. 189.

[55] *Ibid.,* p. 187.

[56] Colomiès, *op. cit.,* pp. 85–94; *Scaligerana ou Bon Mots,* ed. by T. le Fevre and P. Colomiès (Cologne, 1695), pp. 239, 242.

nized this ignorance of Arabic among the Moslems by issuing, in Spanish, a summation of Islamic doctrines.[57] Nor was Arabic being taught in the schools and universities as formerly. At Salamanca, the problem is complicated by the loss of university records,[58] but Marineo Siculo, the Sicilian humanist who spent most of his life in Spain, wrote in 1497 that at Salamanca Greek and Hebrew were taught, but Chaldean and Arabic and the other "barbarous languages" were neglected as unnecessary.[59] In 1543 there were three students of Arabic at Salamanca.[60] At the University of Alcalà, founded by the munificent Cardinal Cisneros (Ximenes) in 1508, there were chairs of Greek, Hebrew, Arabic, and Chaldean, but the latter two chairs were to be filled only when there were sufficient persons who, through zeal of faith and love of God, wished to disseminate God's word in those languages.[61]

Among the earliest of the Spanish humanists to know Arabic was Fernando de Córdoba (*ca.* 1425–*ca.* 1486). His erudition was extraordinary and he spoke and wrote Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Chaldean, and Arabic.[62] The great Latin scholar, Elio Antonio de Nebrija (Lebrija, 1444–1522), who after a long period of study in Italy returned to Spain to spread the humanistic learning, also knew Arabic.[63]

After the military conquest of Granada in 1492, the peaceful conversion of the Moslems was again attempted for a decade. The venerable and humanistic Hernando de Talavera, the first archbishop of Granada, realized that an ignorance of the vernacular of the people of his new archdiocese was a barrier to rapid conversion of the Moslems, ordered that Arabic grammars and dictionaries should be written "in order that all the priests and sacristans who live in the mentioned [towns] recently converted, would be able to learn the

[57] "Suma de los principales mandamientos y devedamientos de la Ley y Cunna," *Memorial historico espanol; Colleccion de documentos, opusculos y antigüedades,* v (Madrid, 1853), pp. 247–421.

[58] M. Bataillon, "L'arabe à Salamanque au temps de la Renaissance", *Hesperis,* xxi (1935), 1–17.

[59] In his *De Hispaniae laudibus* (1497), quoted by Bataillon, *op. cit.,* p. 3.

[60] Paul Groussac, "Le Commentateur du Laberinto", *Revue Hispanique,* xi (1904), 222.

[61] Antonio de la Torre, "La Universidad de Alcalà", *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos,* xxi (1909), 51. This same Cardinal Ximenes in 1499 ordered the public burning of five thousand Arabic books in the Plaza de la Bab al Rambla at Granada: Alvaro Gomez de Castro, *De rebus gestis a Francisco Ximenio Cisnerio* (Compluti, 1569), fol. 30b.

[62] Bonilla y San Martin, *Fernando de Cordoba y los origines del Renacimiento filosofico en España* (Madrid, 1911), pp. 49–50, 54.

[63] Paolo Giovio, *Elogia doctorum virorum* (Basel, 1571), p. 148, No. lxiiii; Colomiès, *op. cit.,* pp. 223–228.

Arabic language".[64] Talavera himself learned the rudiments of Arabic in his old age, saying that he would happily give his eye to know the language so he could teach it to others.[65] His efforts to spread a knowledge of Arabic resulted in the work of the Hieronymian monk, Pedro de Alcalà, who published a Spanish-Arabic dictionary, the *Vocabulista aravigo en letra castellana,*[66] in Granada in 1505. Here the twenty-two thousand words are grouped under the letters of the alphabet in the three divisions of verbs, names, and adverbs and subarranged alphabetically under each group. As the title points out, the Arabic was printed, not in the characters proper to that language, but in Castilian characters.[67] Pedro de Alcalà also wrote *Arte para ligeramente saber la lengua arauiga,* which was published in Granada in 1505, with a second, revised edition that same year.[68] Both of these works are based on solid philological methods and are evidences of humanist learning in Spain.

Early in the sixteenth century the attempts at peaceful conversion gave way to forced conversion or exile, and the interest of the Spaniards in Arabic also declined. Some humanists, however, learned the language of Islam for philological reasons. Among them was the opponent of Erasmus, Don Diego Lopez de Stuniga (d. 1530).[69] Juan Luis Vives (1492–1540), the friend of Erasmus and tutor of Princess Mary of England, came out strongly for the study of Arabic, but here the interest is again prompted by the desire to convert the Moslems.

Faith [he says] is through what is heard, for which language is the instrument. Therefore earnestly would I wish that in most of our states schools of languages should be established not only for those special three [Greek, Latin, Hebrew] but also of Arabic, and of those languages which may be the vernacular of the Agarenes [Moslems, Hagarenes], which men of no easy-going kind should teach, not for the glory thence to be snatched, and for applause, but men most ardent in the zeal of piety, prepared to spend their lives for

[64] In the manuscript "Breve suma de la santa vida del reverendissimo y bienaventurado don fray Fernando de Talavera," as quoted in Don José Amador de los Rios, *Historia crítica de la literatura española* (Madrid, 1861–1865), VII, 358.

[65] *Ibid.*

[66] Robert Ricard, *Études et documents pour l'histoire missionnaire de l'Espagne et du Portugal* (Louvain, 1930), pp. 220–228; Fueck, *op. cit.,* 113–118.

[67] A facsimile copy has been printed by the Hispanic Society of America, New York, 1928.

[68] Schnurrer, *op. cit.,* pp. 16–18; also printed, in facsimile, by the Hispanic Society of America, New York, 1928, and by Paul A. de Lagarde, *Petri Hispani de lingua arabica* (Göttingen, 1883).

[69] Colomiès, *op. cit.,* pp. 222–223.

Christ, that through their instruction, Christ should be proclaimed to those nations, who have learned very little or almost nothing of Him.[70]

Vives also felt that if the Christians and Moslems had a common language, conversions of the infidel would follow.[71]

The Spanish humanist Diego Hurtado de Mendoza (1503–75), a son of one of the noblest families in Spain, learned his Arabic in Granada before going to the University of Salamanca. He collected many Greek and Arabic manuscripts which he later gave to the Escorial Library.[72] By 1583 that library contained two hundred sixty-one Arabic manuscripts.[73] The humanist Hernan Nuñez de Toledo (Nonnius Pincianus, 1475–1553), known as "El Comendador Griego", learned Arabic at Granada as a Semitic language related to the Hebrew which he already knew.[74] Arias Montano (Benedictus Arias Montanus, 1527–98), the editor of the Antwerp Polyglot Bible, also knew Arabic and often followed his signature with *Talmid,* an Arabic word meaning "disciple".[75] He, too, bequeathed to the Escorial Library a collection of manuscripts in Hebrew, Greek, and Arabic.[76] Even the woman humanist Luisia Sigaea Toletana learned Arabic from her father.[77] Francisco Sanchez de las Brozas (1523–1601), professor of Greek at Salamanca and one of the greatest of Spanish humanists, had also some knowledge of Arabic.[78]

North of the Alps and the Pyrenees, where there was not the close contact with Moslem civilization that one found in Italy and Spain, there was less early interest in Arabic among the humanists.

[70] Vives, *De tradendis disciplinis,* III, i, in *Opera omnia* (Valentia, 1785), IV, 300.

[71] *Ibid.,* pp. 299–300: "Would that the Agarenes and we had some language in common; I believe that within a short time many of them would cast in their lot with us." The English translations are those of Foster Watson, *Vives: On Education* (Cambridge, 1913), pp. 92–93. While writing of language teaching Vives gives an example of voice production "from the hidden depth of the throat" as in Arabic. *Opera,* VI, 313.

[72] Colomiès, *op. cit.,* pp. 229–230; N. Antonio, *Bibliotheca Hispana Nova* (Madrid, 1783), I 290–292.

[73] Michael Casiri, *Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana Escurialensis* (Madrid, 1760), I, *Praefatio,* quoting J. H. Hottinger, *Bibliotheca Orientalis* (1583).

[74] Colomiès, *op. cit.,* pp. 232–235; N. Antonio, *op. cit.,* I, 382–384; P. Groussac, *op. cit.,* p. 173.

[75] José Andres Vazquez, *Arias Montano* (Madrid, 1943), pp. 119, 59. For an example, see Felix Nève, "Mémoire historique et littéraire sur le Collège des Trois-Langues à l'Université de Louvain", *Mémoires Couronnés et Mémoires des Savants Étrangers,* XXVIII (Bruxelles, 1856), 405.

[76] Ch. Graux, *Essai sur les origines du fonds Grec de l'Escurial,* Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, XLVI (Paris, 1880), p. 307.

[77] Colomiès, *op. cit.,* pp. 236–237; N. Antonio, *op. cit.,* III, 71–72; A. Bonilla y San Martin, "Clarorum hispaniensium epistolae ineditae", *Revue Hispanique,* VIII (1901), 296–299.

[78] *Documentos ineditos para la historia de Espana,* II (Madrid, 1843), 128.

However, another factor entered the northern Renaissance to direct scholars to the study of Arabic. This was the rapid development of a methodical and intensive study of Hebrew grammar and literature by non-Jewish scholars as an important aid to an adequate understanding of the Hebrew of the Old Testament and of many other documents relating to Christianity. In turn many of the obscure Hebrew words and phrases used in the Cabala and various rabbinical authorities could best be understood only by comparison with other Semitic languages, especially Arabic and Aramaic. Sebastian Münster, the Hebrew scholar, complained that, because of the "extranea vocabula", in order to read the rabbinical commentaries intelligently, one must understand many languages, "Talmudicam, Chaldaicam, Ismaeliticam, Arabicam, Graecam, Germanicam, Italicam, Hispanicam et Gallicam".[79] Hebrew, Aramaic, and Arabic were thus often added to the humanistic tools of Greek and Latin already possessed by Biblical scholars.[80]

In Germany, Johann Wessel (1419–89) is known as an early student of Hebrew, but that he also learned Arabic and Chaldaic, as sometimes stated, is not evident in his writings and must be considered doubtful.[81] In 1501 (?) Conrad Celtis, an early German humanist, sent, as a curiosity no doubt, an Arabic manuscript containing several Suras of the Koran and some Turkish prayers to his friend, Willibald Pirckheimer.[82] A German humanist especially known for his study of Arabic was Johann Albrecht Widmanstetter (Oesiander, Widmestadius, Lucretius, 1506–57). Widmanstetter learned Greek, Hebrew, Arabic, and Syriac while in Italy, where he had gone in 1527. His Arabic he acquired from Erasmus' opponent Don Diego Lopez de Stuniga, the Spanish humanist, and from some Africans living in Rome.[83] In the summer of 1531 he for a while even thought of going to Africa to hear Leo Africanus, who had become apostate and had returned to Islam and his own country. While in Rome he also heard lectures on the Koran by Benjamin Arignanus.[84]

[79] Quoted in Joseph Perles, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Hebräischen und Aramäischen Studien* (Munich, 1884), p. 29.

[80] Certain scholars published works especially designed to explain the difficult rabbinical words. The best known of these is the *Thisbites* (Isna in Algavia, 1541) of Elias Levita, "in quo 712 vocum quae sunt partim Hebraicae, Chaldaicae, Arabicae, Graicae et Latinae, quaeque in Dictionariis non facile inveniuntur usus docte ostenditur".

[81] C. Ullman, *Reformers before the Reformation,* trans. by R. Menzies (Edinburgh, 1855), II, 287.

[82] Emil Reicke, *Willibald Pirckheimers Briefwechsel,* I (Munich, 1940), 144–149. How little was known of the Arabic language is shown by the fact that Benedictus Chelidonius, another humanist, refers to this Arabic manuscript as being written in "assyriis" (Chaldean).

[83] J. A. Widmanstetter, *Liber Sacrosancti Evangelii* (Vienna, 1555), fols. 6, 12.

[84] *Ibid.,* fol. 12; *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie,* XLII, 357.

He also sought to win Pope Clement VII to his plan to introduce Arabic and Syriac studies into Christian schools. Although this scheme won the support of the archbishop of Capua, Nikolaus von Schönberg, the death of Clement in September 1534 meant failure. In 1544, after Widmanstetter had returned to Germany, Petrus Ghalinus, a deacon of Damascus, was sent from Rome to aid the scholar in his Arabic studies. Although Ghalinus was soon separated from Widmanstetter by intrigue, he left with his pupil an Arabic manuscript of the Vatican collection.[85] During his lifetime Widmanstetter collected a remarkable library of oriental manuscripts and books. When acquired by Duke Albert V for the Munich Library they numbered more than three hundred Hebrew, Syriac, and Arabic manuscripts and five hundred printed books.[86] Widmanstetter left unprinted his own Latin translation of the Koran and an Arabic grammar.[87]

Another German humanist, Andreas Masius (1515–73), learned his Greek and Hebrew at Louvain and some time later at some unknown university became "doctor juris utriusque". He spent much time in Rome with his humanist friends and there, perhaps between the years 1544–46, began his Arabic studies under Guillaume Postel, the French Arabist, and Moïse de Mardin.[88] Conrad Gesner (1516–1565), the Swiss writer and naturalist, studied Arabic and in 1555 included the Lord's Prayer in Arabic among the twenty-two languages in his *Mithridates*.[89] In 1567, Michael Neander (1525–95) published the first bibliography of books dealing with Arabic.[90] Several other German scholars, not properly humanists, contributed much to the placing of Arabic on solid philological grounds.[91] At Heidelberg, Immanuel Tremellius (1510–80), a converted Jew, knew Arabic and taught it to his student, Franciscus Junius (du Jon, 1545–1602). The latter translated into Latin the books of the New Testa-

[85] Joseph Aumer, *Die arabischen Handschriften der K. Hof- und Staats-bibliothek in Muenchen*, cod. 649, vol. I, i of *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis* (Munich, 1866).

[86] Gerhoh Steigenberger, *Historisch-Literarischer Versuch von Entstehung und Aufnahme der kurfürstlichen Bibliothek in Muenchen* (Munich, 1784), p. 23; Max Müller, *Johann Albrecht von Widmanstetter, 1506–1557. Sein Leben und Wirken* (Bamberg, 1907), p. 80.

[87] *ADB*, XLII, 360.

[88] Max Lossen, *Briefe von Andreas Masius und seinen Freunden; 1538 bis 1575* (Leipzig, 1886), pp. 23, 56f, 161–164, 185, 195f, 201f, 351–353, 408, 421, 436f, 453–455, 471; J. G. de Chaufepié, *Nouveau dictionnaire historique et critique* (Amsterdam, 1750–1756), III, 219, 227, 230, 232; *Biographie nationale de Belgique*, XIII (1894), 120–125.

[89] Conrad Gesner, *Mithridates, sive de differentiis linguarum, tum veterum, tum quae hodie apud diversas nationes in toto orbe terrarum in usu sunt, observationes* (Zurich, 1555; 2nd ed., 1610).

[90] In his *Sanctae linguae Hebraeae erotemata* (Basel, 1567), pp. 387–540.

[91] J. Fueck, *op. cit.*, pp. 128–131.

ment from an Arabic manuscript. More outstanding as an Arabic scholar was his own student, Jacob Christmann (1554–1613), who in 1582 published his *Alphabetum Arabicum cum isagoge scribendi legendique Arabice,* the Arabic letters being printed from woodcuts.[92] Christmann strongly felt the need of good Arabic grammars, and in the dedication of another work, he asked the Count Palatine Johann Kasimir to establish a chair of Arabic so that philosophy and medicine might be learned from the original Arabic sources. He felt that the Arabic manuscripts in the Palatine Library were sufficient for the composition of a good grammar and dictionary to establish Arabic studies. In 1609, four years before his death, Christmann did introduce the study of Arabic into the University of Heidelberg.[93]

Meanwhile in France a similar situation prevailed. Among the few humanists here who took an interest in Arabic was François Rabelais (1494?–1553), the humorist and satirist. He studied Greek, Latin, Hebrew, and apparently some Arabic. In the *Briefve Declaration,* in writing of the Catadupes of the Nile, Rabelais says, "L'evesque de Caramith, celuy qui en Rome fut mon precepteur en langue arabicque".[94] Except for this brief notice there is nothing in his works to indicate a knowledge of Arabic. The medical, astronomical, and mathematical terms of Arabic origin which Rabelais uses are not from the originals but from Latin versions.[95] In the library of the Abbey of Thélème there are no Arabic books, yet Gargantua's letter to Pantagruel contains the following advice: "I insist you learn languages perfectly! Greek first . . . ; then Latin; then Hebrew for the sake of the Holy Scriptures; then Chaldee and Arabic, too".[96] Also, on the Island of the Macreons Pantagruel and his companions found "several old ruined temples, obelisks, pyramids, monuments, and ancient tombs, with various inscriptions and epitaphs, some in hieroglyphics, others in Ionic, in Arabic, in Hagarene or Moorish, in Slavonic, and in still other tongues". In true humanistic fashion, "Epistemon carefully copied them".[97]

Again it is necessary to introduce here a great linguist who, although not properly a humanist, did much for the advancement of

[92] Schnurrer, *op. cit.,* pp. 19-20.

[93] Fueck, *op. cit.,* p. 130.

[94] *Les oeuvres de Maistre François Rabelais,* ed. by Ch. Marty-Laveaux, III (Paris, 1873), 202.

[95] L. Sainéan, *La langue de Rabelais* (Paris, 1922–1923), II, Chap. III.

[96] *Gargantua and Pantagruel,* II, viii (LeClerq's translation).

[97] *Ibid.,* IV, xxv. Note that Rabelais carefully distinguishes between Arabic and Moorish; cf. *Revue des Études Rabelaisiennes,* VII (1909), 333–335; *Revue du Seizième Siècle,* I (1914), 489–490.

Arabic studies. This was Guillaume Postel (1510–81), who learned Greek and Hebrew while studying in Paris.[98] In 1536 the humanistically inclined King Francis I sent Postel to the Orient to collect oriental manuscripts. While there Postel learned Turkish and Arabic and, on returning to Italy in 1537, tried to persuade the printer Daniel Bomberg of Venice to found an oriental press with Arabic type. He also learned from Ambrogio to use the term Punic for Maghribene (North African) Arabic. Returning to Paris, Postel became professor of Greek, Hebrew, and Arabic at the newly founded Collège de France and there published his outstanding *Linguarum XII characterum differentium alphabetum* (1538), which contained discussions of the alphabet and language of Hebrew, Chaldean, Syrian, Samaritan, Arabic (*Arabica vel Punica*), Ethiopian (*Indica*), Greek, Georgian, Serbian (*Tzerviana*), Albanian (*Hieronymiana aut Illyrica*), Armenian, and Latin. Here, in the section devoted to Arabic, Postel writes first of the spread of Islam throughout the world and praises the riches of Arabic literature, especially in the sciences. Ibn Sina (Avicenna, 980–1037), he writes, "says more on one or two pages than does Galen in five or six large volumes". After commenting on the relationship between Hebrew and Arabic, he turns to the value of learning Arabic, a world language, which would enable one to converse with Moors, Egyptians, Syrians, Persians, Turks, Tartars, and Indians, and to read a very rich literature. Postel then reverts to the old medieval theme: "He who knows Arabic can pierce all enemies of the Christian faith with the sword of the Scriptures and refute them with their own dogma, and through the knowledge of one language alone, can communicate with the whole globe".

In 1538 or 1539 appeared Postel's *Grammatica Arabica,* another great step forward in Arabic studies.[99] Bomberg now financed a second trip to the Orient. After visiting Palestine and Constantinople, Postel returned to Venice, gave the oriental manuscripts he had collected to Bomberg, and went on to Paris. Later he went to Vienna, helped Widmanstetter with his Syrian New Testament, and taught for a short period in the new Vienna Academy. After more wanderings, difficulties with ecclesiastical authorities, and other vicissitudes, Postel remained near Paris until his death in 1581. His oriental manuscripts came into the possession of Otto Heinrich, the Elector Palatine,

[98] Francis J. T. Desbillons, *Nouveaux eclaircissements sur la vie et les ouvrages de Guillaume Postel* (Liege, 1773); Geoffrey Butler, *Studies in Statecraft* (Cambridge, 1920), pp. 38–64, 117–131.

[99] Schnurrer, *op. cit.*, pp. 18–19.

and were placed in the Palatine Library at Heidelberg where they were used by many later Arabic scholars.[100]

One of the foremost scholars of France and the Netherlands was Joseph Justus Scaliger (1540–1609). His vast and varied learning extended also to Islam, Moslem chronology, and Arabic, although the extent of his knowledge of Arabic has been debated.[101] However, his chronological studies and his edition of Manilius' *Astronomicon* give evidence of his oriental studies.[102] Scaliger also collected Arabic manuscripts, which he later bequeathed to the Leyden Library.[103] He himself states: "Oh, that I had possessed the Arabic language as I know the Syrian or Chaldean", and "Where I understand the least of any language, as of German or of Arabic, immediately I know the grammatical rules and analogy of it".[104] Later Thomas Erpenius, professor of oriental languages at Leyden, honored Scaliger as "Arabizantium principem".[105]

A friend of Scaliger's and another late French humanist, Isaac Casaubon (1559–1614), studied Hebrew, Aramaic, and Arabic with great diligence.[106] Other Frenchmen who contributed to the spread of Arabic in the sixteenth century were Arnoldus Insulanus, Johannes Martinus, and Stephanus Hubertus. Arnoldus Insulanus (Arnoult de l'Insele) was professor of medicine, especially Arabic medicine, at the University of Paris and later was the first to hold (1587–1613) the chair of Arabic at the Collège de France.[107] Johannes Martinus, likewise a professor of medicine, was known for his scientific learning and his knowledge of Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and Arabic.[108]

[100] Chaufepié, *Nouveau dictionnaire,* III, 221–222, Levi della Vida, *op. cit.,* pp. 327 ff., with a short inventory of ten of these Arabic mss., pp. 293–294. During the Thirty Years' War the famous Palatine Library was presented to Pope Gregory XV and transferred to the Vatican.

[101] L. Sainéan, *op. cit.,* II, 497–502.

[102] In his monumental *Opus de emendatione temporum* (Geneva, 1629), see especially pp. 707–717, *Computus arabicus ecclesiae antiochenae;* pp. 762–769, *Notae in computum Hegirae Muhammedis;* and *Index orientalium vocum.* In his edition of Manilius' *Astronomicon* (Leyden, 1600), see pp. 473–487, *de quarumdam stellarum arabicis appellationibus;* pp. 505–506, *Duodecim signorum.* Cf. also the funeral oration of Daniel Heinsius in *The Autobiography of Joseph Scaliger,* ed. Geo. W. Robinson (Cambridge, Mass., 1927), p. 76.

[103] *Catalogus Bibliothecae Publicae Universitatis Lugduno-Batavae* (Leyden, 1716), pp. 409–491, Nos. 212–268; *Catalogus codicum arabicorum Bibliothecae Academiae Lugduno-Batavae,* 2nd ed., ed. M. J. de Goeje and M. Th. Houtsma (Leyden, 1888–1907), Nos. 212–268.

[104] *Scaligerana,* pp. 240–241.

[105] In Erpenius' *Praefatio* to his and Scaliger's *Proverbiorum arabicorum centuriae duae* (Leyden, 1614).

[106] *Isaaci Casauboni epistolae* (Rotterdam, 1709), pp. 31, 126–127, 132, 194.

[107] P. Colomiès, *Gallia orientalis* (La Haye, 1665), p. 67.

[108] *Ibid.,* pp. 93–94.

Stephanus Hubertus, professor of Arabic at the Collège de France from 1600 to 1614, learned his Arabic in the Orient.[109]

It was in the seventeenth century that the Netherlands were to become the most important center for Arabic studies,[110] but in the sixteenth century that land already produced an outstanding humanist noted for his Arabic studies. This was Nicolas Clenardus (Cleynarts, 1495–1542).[111] While at the University of Louvain, Clenardus turned from theology to the study of languages. Greek he learned from Rutger Rescius, Hebrew from Matthaeus Adrianus and from Jan van Campen (Campensis). These languages he taught privately and also took up the study of Chaldean. It was in the books of the Jewish commentators, especially those of Aben Ezra, that Clenardus found references to the Arabic language.[112] He became convinced of the value of Arabic for the study of the related Semitic language, Hebrew. Hoping to find a professor of Arabic at the University of Paris, he went there in the summer of 1530. He was greatly disappointed not to find Arabic being taught and returned to Louvain convinced that he could never learn that language in Europe. Daniel Bomberg, the Venetian Hebrew printer, on a visit to Louvain, again encouraged Clenardus by telling him that there were in Venice certain Jewish physicians who knew Arabic. Bomberg also promised to send Clenardus some pages written in Arabic. Great was Clenardus' joy, for, he writes, "At that time I thought of nothing but of becoming acquainted with the Arabic letters and words".[113] Bomberg never kept his promise, but a scholar at the university brought him a copy of the *Psalterium Nebiense,* which contained the psalms in Arabic. Although he knew not a letter of Arabic, Clenardus set about teaching himself, using his knowledge of Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. He compared various proper names in the eighty-third psalm,

[109] *Ibid.,* pp. 146–148. Among those whom Hubertus taught was Isaac Casaubon: *Epistolae,* pp. 31, 132, 194.

[110] Wilhelmina M. C. Juynboll, *Zwentiende-eeuwsche Beoefenaars van het Arabisch in Nederland* (Utrecht, 1931).

[111] M. Thouissen, "La croisade pacifique—Vie et travaux de Nicolas Cleynaerts", in *Bulletins de l'académie royale des sciences, des lettres et des beaux-arts de Belgique,* 2d ser., XIII (1862), 539–576; V. Chauvin and A. Roersch, "Étude sur la vie et les travaux de Nicolas Clénard," *Mémoires couronnés et autres mémoires publiés par l'académie royale des sciences, des lettres et des beaux-arts de Belgique,* LX (1900–1901), 1–203; F. Nève, "Relation d'un voyageur Chrétien sur la ville de Fcz et ses écoles," *Orientalia varia,* XVII (1845), 5–20; Jules de Saint Genois, *Les voyageurs Belges du XIIIe au XVIe siècle* (Bruxelles, n.d.), I, 211–227; M. Goncalves Cerejeira, *O humanismo em Portugal: Clenardo* (Coimbra, 1926); Vocht, Olbrecht, Philippen, Deheegher, and Bouchery, *Nicolaus Clenardus* (Antwerp, 1942); Alphonse Roersch, *Correspondance de Nicolas Clenard* (Bruxelles, 1940).

[112] *Nic. Clenardi epistolarum libri duo* (Antwerp, 1566), p. 219.

[113] *Ibid.,* p. 220.

and after much hard labor learned the consonants, drew up a vocabulary and even a kind of grammar.

Meanwhile a friend, a Portuguese Franciscan named Roch Almeida, assured Clenardus that he could find instruction in Arabic at the University of Salamanca in Spain. He soon availed himself of an opportunity to go to Spain in the company of Fernandus Columbus, a son of the discoverer. But at Salamanca there was no one who taught Arabic, though Hernan Nuñez, the professor of Greek and rhetoric there, knew the language. Nuñez, however, tried to discourage Clenardus by saying: "What concern have you with this barbarous language, Arabic? It is quite sufficient to know Latin and Greek. In my youth I was as foolish as you, and, not content with adding Hebrew to the other two languages, I also took up Arabic; but I have long given up these last two, and devoted myself entirely to Greek. Let me advise you to do the same."[114] Yet on the pleadings of Clenardus, he presented him with a manuscript containing the four gospels in Arabic, and later with the small Arabic grammar of Pedro de Alcalá. Nuñez also explained the vowel points to Clenardus and aided him otherwise. This was Clenardus' first Arabic lesson. Later he acquired a copy of the grammar of Albucasim.

In 1533 Clenardus went to Portugal and at Evora continued his study of Arabic. Here he had the assistance of a physician, Antonius Philippus, a man well versed in Arabic and Arabic medicine, but completely ignorant of Arabic grammar. By frequent visits to Philippus and by correspondence with him, Clenardus perfected his knowledge of Arabic. The two men used in their studies an Arabic text of Avicenna and an Arabic version of the *Commentaries* of Galen on the *Aphorisms* of Hippocrates. By means of these texts Clenardus also arranged and completed the dictionary he had begun at Louvain. Feeling that he was now ready to return to Louvain and introduce the study of Arabic there, he left Portugal to make a tour of southern Spain, hoping to secure some of the Arabic manuscripts now in the hands of the Inquisition. He also wished to buy an educated Morisco slave to aid him in Arabic conversation and to accompany him to Brabant, where he wished to print books in Arabic. As he wrote to his friend Latomus in July 1539, "I am dreaming a royal dream. The Hebrew books which Bomberg prints in Venice go everywhere to find the Jews, to Egypt, to Africa, to India. It will be the same with the Arabic books that we will print at Louvain. We shall print the

[114] *Ibid.*, p. 235.

Koran with a Latin translation and a refutation which you theologians will provide for us."[115]

At Granada he did secure his educated slave, but the Inquisition refused to give him any Arabic manuscripts unless he would establish his school there. This Clenardus would not do. Meanwhile he had obtained a copy of the Koran and was studying it. He now resolved to go to Fez in Morocco to get his manuscripts. This he did in 1540–41, but while he was ill on the return journey to Granada, his precious manuscripts were stolen. Once again at Granada he decided to return to Africa, but he died in November 1542, and was buried in the Alhambra. His Arabic writings, entrusted to a friend, are lost. Before Clenardus died, he had written a letter to Charles V and had almost completed an autobiographical *Letter to all Christians* which describe in detail his quest for a knowledge of Arabic and his desire to use it for the furtherance of Christianity.[116]

Another humanist of the Netherlands who learned Arabic was Franciscus Raphelengius (1539–97), the son-in-law of the printer Christopher Plantin. Raphelengius learned Hebrew and Greek at Paris, and later taught Greek at Cambridge. In 1564 he joined the Plantin Press at Leyden and soon thereafter became interested in Arabic.[117] He was still engaged in compiling an Arabic lexicon at the time of his death. This was finally published by his sons in 1613.[118]

In England there were only a few humanists of the sixteenth century who knew Arabic. The earliest was probably Robert Wakefeld (d. 1537), whose works show also an early English enthusiasm for Hebrew. In 1524 he published in London his *Oratio de laudibus et utilitate trium linguarum, Arabicae, Chaldaicae, et Hebraicae,* the first book to be printed in England with Hebrew and Arabic characters.[119] The English diplomat and humanist Richard Pace (1482?–1536) apparently also knew Arabic,[120] while the physician and divine Richard Argentine (Sexten, d. 1568) made a plea for the restoration

[115] *Ibid.*, p. 33.

[116] *Ibid.*, pp. 212–217; 218–258.

[117] W. Juynboll, *op. cit.*, pp. 36–45; *Correspondance de Christophe Plantin,* ed. Max Rooses, III (Antwerp, 1911), 244. In 1595 Raphelengius published an eight-page *Specimen characterum arabicorum* containing the Arabic alphabet and the fiftieth psalm in Arabic with an interlinear Latin translation.

[118] Schnurrer, *op. cit.*, pp. 27–28.

[119] *Dictionary of National Biography,* XX, 446–447; F. Nève, "Mémoire historique et littéraire sur le Collège des Trois-Langues à l'Université de Louvain," *Mémoires Couronnés et Mémoires des Savants Étrangers,* XXVIII (1856), 231–233.

[120] Pietro Verrua, *Umanisti ed altri "studiosi viri" italiani e stranieri di qua e di la dalle Alpi e dal Mare* (Geneva, 1924), pp. 80–81; A. Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses* (London, 1691–1692), I, 39–40.

of the study of Arabic at Oxford and Cambridge.[121] A chair of Arabic, however, was not founded at Cambridge until 1632 and at Oxford not until 1636. Two scholars who aided in the translation of the Bible under King James were known for their knowledge of Arabic. William Bedwell (1561–1632), father of true Arabic studies in England, compiled in seven folio manuscript volumes (never published) the first Arabic lexicon produced in England,[122] while Richard Brett (1560?–1637) was recognized as a scholar of Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Aramaic, and Arabic.[123]

A definite limiting factor in the early study of Arabic was the lack of Arabic type, for it was not until the end of the sixteenth century that books were printed in any number in Arabic.[124] Mention has been made above of the one book which appeared at Fano in 1514 and of the *Psalter* of Giustiniani (1516). Postel had used very poor Arabic type for his *Linguarum XII . . . alphabetum* and his *Grammatica Arabica* (1538). The first good Arabic type was founded for the Medici press in Rome established by Cardinal Ferdinand de' Medici in the eighties, with the assistance of Giovanni Battista Raimondi.[125] In 1591 it printed the four gospels in Arabic, in 1592 a grammatical tract, in 1593 Avicenna's *Canon,* and in 1594 Euclid's *Elements.*[126] On the death of Raimondi in 1614 the Medici press ceased to function, though its place was taken by a new oriental press in Rome, the work of the French ambassador to the curia, François Savary de Brèves. In 1615 this press was moved to Paris.[127] In the Low Countries, Raphelengius had founded Arabic type, but it was used in few printings. In Germany, Peter Kirsten had also founded Arabic type early in the sixteenth century to publish Arabic medical works.[128]

Several conclusions may be drawn from this survey of the spread of the knowledge of Arabic among the Renaissance humanists. In some ways the acquisition of a knowledge of Arabic paralleled the difficulties in acquiring a knowledge of Greek in the early Renaissance. The early scholars of both languages were dependent on learn-

[121] *DNB,* I, 552. The manuscript, *Ad Oxonienses et Cantabrigienses pro lingua Arabica beneficio principum restituenda,* is in the Bodleian Library, MS. e Mus. 200.

[122] *DNB,* II, 119–120.

[123] *DNB,* II, 1192; A. Wood, *op. cit.,* 517.

[124] Fueck, *op. cit.,* pp. 137–143.

[125] Gubernatis, *op. cit.,* pp. 494 ff.

[126] Schnurrer, *op. cit.,* pp. 343, 344–351, 22, 458–459.

[127] M. de Guignes, "Essai historique sur l'origine des caractères orientaux de l'imprimerie royale", *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi* (L'académie royale des inscriptions et belles-lettres), I (1787), xx-xxi.

[128] Fueck, *op. cit.,* pp. 141–143.

ing the language from some one who already knew it; many were self-taught; concerted efforts had to be made to produce dictionaries, vocabularies, and grammars; manuscripts had to be collected at great expense from far places, libraries established, and fonts of type founded.

There were differences too. As Arabic was a living language, spoken and written by millions, it was considerably easier to gain facility in that Semitic language. Doctors, merchants, and statesmen had very practical reasons for studying Arabic, but aside from philological reasons, the interest of the humanists in this language was generally different from that which motivated the study of Greek by the Renaissance humanists. True, some of those who learned Arabic were well aware of its value in opening up a vast body of excellent literature in many fields. Bedwell, for example, wrote, "There is no other language (Greek and Latin excepted), my reader, which contains more sound learning and encyclopaedic monuments".[129] However, the religious uses of Arabic to elucidate the Hebrew words in Christian religious literature and documents and to facilitate the pacific crusade against Islam seem to have predominated in the views of most of those who studied this oriental language. In this last area, the Renaissance humanists continued an earlier medieval theme.

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[129] In the preface to his *D. Iohannis apostoli et euangelistae Epistolae Catholicae omnes, Arabicae* (Leyden, 1612), p. 4.

# The Problem of Latin Renaissance Poetry*

It is a result of our modern overspecialization in scholarship that, although every one knows of the excellence of Latin Renaissance poetry and of the reputation it enjoyed in its time, this poetry is not yet studied today as it deserves. The scholar in Romance, for example, while realizing that literary figures such as Petrarch, Boccaccio, Ronsard, DuBellay were bilingual and wrote in Latin as well as in the vernacular, that DuBellay drafted his sonnet *Heureux qui comme Ulysse* . . . first in Latin, that Petrarch appreciated his *Africa* more than his *Canzoniere,* is more apt to study the Latin works of the Renaissance poets for the light they may cast on their works in the vernacular than as works of art which have their meaning in themselves. Again, the scholar in classics has his interest centered on the golden literary periods of Latin: he may, perhaps, for pedagogical purposes, read with his students the so much easier medieval Latin texts, but as to the Latin works of the Renaissance literati, why go to these imitations when the classical sources are at hand? But the fact is that Renaissance Latin literature represents a step beyond classical Latin, precisely because Latin was a second language for those bilingual poets; new problems, unknown to the ancients, had to arise in the case of a language that was mainly a literary language, and the pagan forms imitated by Christian humanists were bound to acquire new meanings in the Christian environment, just as the pagan motifs of Renaissance paintings take on a new significance: an ancient god or goddess painted by Titian or Raphael appears in a landscape that was unknown to the ancients.

The general neglect of Renaissance Latin literature is reflected in our lack of satisfactory scholarly tools for its study: no critical anthology that would contain the best of the poetry of the humanists of all countries is available or in sight (the relatively best anthology, that of Florence Gragg, devoted both to Latin prose and poetry of Italian humanists, is out of print). Nor do we possess many carefully annotated editions of single works (such as Mustard's edition of Sannazzaro's piscatory eclogues); we are still in the era of discovery of precious manuscripts to which scholars such as Professor Kristeller have devoted their lives. Above all, there exists a total lack of lexicographical tools: of a dictionary of Renaissance Latin parallel to the Du Cange that serves us so well for the Middle Ages, that would

* Read at the meeting of the Columbia University Seminar on the Renaissance 19 April 1955.

allow us to appraise the progress made by Neo-Latin in the expression of new Renaissance inventions or concepts (the initiative of Professor Blackford in the direction of a "Du Cange of the Renaissance" spanning the years 1400–1600 must be heartily welcomed). In this respect, the linguists working in the history of modern languages who have discovered the sometimes Neo-Latin origin of current expressions in the vernaculars have made many finds which remain still uncodified and inaccessible to scholars in Renaissance humanism: thus the German etymologist Friedrich Kluge was led by the fact that the German term *Heimweh* appears originally with Swiss writers to the discovery of the origin of this expression (along with the parallel formations *home-sickness, mal du pays,* etc.) in the Greco-Latin term *nostalgia* coined by Swiss physician-humanists to designate an illness which appeared most acutely in their time among Swiss mercenaries serving abroad. Again *Syphilis* is, as is well known, a term coined by Fracastoro in the poem bearing this name (on whose etymology, which is still unknown, I have published an article in the *Bulletin of the History of Medicine,* XXIX, 1955). Recently, I discovered that our word *interlocutor* (Fr. *interlocuteur* etc.) is a coinage of Renaissance writers used originally for the participants in a dialogue in the genre of Plato and formed from the verb *interloqui* in the sense of Greek διαλέγειν which is attested only in late Latin (in the *Timaeus* translation of Charisius). But we owe not only words of our vernaculars to Neo-Latin, but also whole word-formational patterns: here I must refer to Professor Anna Hatcher's *Modern English Word-Formation and Neo-Latin,* in which the current English type *secretary-stenographer* (*poet-actor* etc.) is retraced to the Neo-Latin type *comico-tragicus* (itself derived from Plautus' jocular coinage *tragico(co)moedia*) and *historico-politicus.* Such discoveries may open our eyes to the fact that Neo-Latin, although a written language, was not a dead language in the Renaissance period. And even today does not the Vatican, that linguistic *rocher de bronze* in a chaotic age, still use in its Latin publications a Renaissance Latin enriched by terms expressing concepts of our time such as "atomic bomb" (*pyrobolus atomicus*), "Cominform" (*supremum communistarum omnium consilium*)?

In this article I shall comment, not on the linguistic, but on the poetic originality of the Neo-Latin Renaissance writers: when in seminar work with my Hopkins students in Romance I applied some years ago the method of *explication de texte,* traditional in the latter field, to Latin poems of the Renaissance which have not yet

been treated in this manner, very soon the question formulated in the title of the present article forced itself into the foreground: are we able to define the manner how and the reason why Italian poets writing in Latin deviate in their style from that of their compositions in the vernacular? It is obvious that *imitatio,* imitation of the ancients, is responsible for those deviations, but how should we understand this *imitatio* more specifically, as a limitation of their poetic power or as a stimulus to new achievements? Although not specialized in Renaissance and least of all in Renaissance Latin poetry, I believe that a scholar coming from Rumania may, in a comparative *explication* of Latin and Italian texts, offer fresh impressions about the former and thus, if not answer conclusively the question of the "problem" of Neo-Latin poetry, at least attract attention to certain essential differences.

I shall treat first a prose text of Petrarch which gave me insight into the question of *imitatio* as at least this *trecentista* conceived it, then some poems of the *quattrocentista* Poliziano which may point up the differences of style made necessary by the choice of the Latin and the Italian idiom, and finally, with Pontano, the possibilities given to Latin to express, not antiquity, but modernity and to parallel in its own way the Italian poetry of his time.

FRANCISCUS PETRARCA M. TULLIO CICERONI S.P.D.

Epistulas tuas diu multumque perquisitas atque, ubi minime rebar, inventas avidissime perlegi. Audivi multa te dicentem, multa deplorantem, multa variantem, Marce Tulli, et qui iam pridem, qualis praeceptor aliis fuisses, noveram, nunc tandem, quis tu tibi esses, agnovi. Unum hoc vicissim a vera caritate profectum non iam consilium sed lamentum audi, ubicumque es, quod unus posterorum tui nominis amantissimus non sine lacrimis fundit. O inquiete semper et anxie vel, ut verba tua recognoscas, o praeceps et calamitose senex, quid tibi toto contentionibus et prorsum nihil profuturis simultatibus voluisti? Ubi et aetati et professioni et fortunae tuae conveniens otium reliquisti? Quis te falsus gloriae splendor senem adulescentium bellis implicuit et per omnes iactatum casus

ad indignam philosopho mortem rapuit? Heu! et fraterni consilii immemor et tuorum tot salubrium praeceptorum, ceu nocturnus viator lumen in tenebris gestans ostendisti secuturis callem, in quo ipse satis miserabiliter lapsus es. . . . Nimirum quid iuvat alios docere, quid ornatissimis verbis semper de virtutibus loqui prodest, si te interim ipse non audias? A! quanto satius fuerat philosopho praesertim in tranquillo rure senuisse, de perpetua illa, ut ipse quodam loco ais, non de hac iam exigua vita cogitantem, nullos habuisse fasces, nullis triumphis inhiasse, nullos inflasse tibi animum Catilinas! Sed de hoc quidem frustra. Aeternum vale, mi Cicero.

Apud superos, ad dexteram Athesis ripa in civitate Transpadanae Italiae Verona, XVI Kalendas Quintiles, anno ab ortu Dei illius, quem tu non noveras MCCCXLV.—*Ep. Fam.*, XXIV. 3.

The text of Petrarch, a letter addressed to Cicero and dated (l. 36) from Verona 1345, is found in the compilation called by Petrarch *De rebus familiaribus* and arranged by the writer himself at the age of 55 years, in 1359; this letter is contained in the last book of letters (the 24th) and is the first of a group addressed to classical authors, including, along with Cicero, such figures as Seneca, Varro, Virgil and Homer. If our letter to Cicero heads the list, this is because the inspiration to address personally great classical figures came to Petrarch first as a reaction to Cicero's writings, as he tells us in the preface to the whole collection: he was indeed, he tells us, soothed and ruffled at the same time by Cicero, whose style he admired, but whose fickleness of character he loathed—and therefore he decided to write to him as if to a friend of his own time, regardless of the ages which separated them, and with a familiarity acquired through an intimate knowledge of the works of that genius. And this letter, our letter, served as a precedent for the other letters to ancient literati.

But, of course, there would have been no letter of Petrarch to Cicero had it not been for the discovery, in 1345 at Verona (in the year and at the place wherefrom our letter is dated), of a codex containing among others Cicero's letters *Ad Atticum*—a sensational discovery made by Petrarch himself. And in connection with this

discovery there is a certain detail which may throw some additional light on the astonishing tone of indignation against Cicero which we find in our letter as well as in the preface mentioned above. In another letter written to Boccaccio 13 or 14 years later than the discovery of the codex, Petrarch describes a tragicomic incident in which he was, as it were, the physical victim of Cicero: in this letter he mentions the anguish and pain he underwent when, lacking trained copyists who could read the old codex, and in spite of his bad eyes which were strained by its characters, he himself copied the whole Ciceronian text, and, afterwards, in order to have the original close at hand, he leaned the codex against the door of his study, but one day, when he came into this study, the codex fell on his foot and injured his ankle. Petrarch, numbed by the pain, could only cry out at this moment: "My Cicero, why do you injure me?" but the same thing happened repeatedly: whenever Petrarch entered his study, the codex fell on him and aggravated his suffering, until he decided to put the book in a more suitable place, "to elevate its station", as he puts it (cf. M. E. Cosenza, *Petrarch's Letters to Classical Authors,* Chicago, 1910, p. 5). From this description it would seem that Petrarch's animadversions against Cicero have their root in nervous irritation as well as in moral indignation, nervous irritation dating back to the strain Petrarch felt when copying the codex and renewing itself periodically even later (by blows!). But why is nervous irritation brought in by Petrarch (even supposing that the incident of the injury inflicted on him by the codex is truth, not fiction)? We shall try to answer this question later. Turning now to our letter to Cicero of 1345 (whose first line contains an allusion to the recent discovery of the Cicero manuscript), we find in it an immediate reaction to that first reading of new Ciceronian letters which may be summarized, in the phrase of the preface of 1359: Petrarch was "soothed and ruffled" by them. Here it is worthy of note, as Hermann Gmelin in his book on *imitatio* has pointed out, that humanism begins, not with slavish subjection to rediscovered ancient literature, but with a declaration of independence (indeed the famous comparison by Quintilian, repeated by Petrarch, of *imitatio* with the activity of bees that are not satisfied with appropriating raw material, but assimilate it, points in the same direction). The early humanist realized that if Cicero's perfect style must be imitated, his personal character must not be imitated nor all the beliefs indorsed of a man born in an era that could not know Christ (*quem tu non noveras,* 1. 39), of whose fate in the after-life the Christian Petrarch expresses

uncertainty (*ubicumque es,* l. 9) and whose in reality quite naturalistic cosmological speculation he feels obliged to twist into a Christian idea of eternal life (l. 30), while not hiding from himself the fact that Cicero ultimately resembles Dante's Virgil, a bearer of light for his followers, who himself was doomed to remain in darkness (l. 22). Petrarch's mixed feelings toward Cicero are explainable if we think of the *similarities* in *temperament* and *historical position* between the two men on one hand, of their basic *disagreement* in matters of *belief* on the other. Similarities in temperament: Petrarch had in common with the ancient idol the cult of friendship, the longing for a tranquil life, for the *otium* necessary to the scholar, the love for books (not only works and ideas), the desire to cultivate his own mind, the pleasure in writing up personal experiences and describing individual moods, also the restlessness of mood of a basically artistic nature, the arrogant modesty in self-expression, the cult of a beautiful style, the desire for earthly glory, and the consideration of life within the framework of exemplary models. And this brings us to the similarities in historical position: Petrarch sensed in Cicero not only a model, but a foil: were they not both mediators between different civilizations? Just as Cicero had brought Greek παιδεία to bear on Roman *humanitas,* Petrarch brought ancient culture home to his Christian age. It was then natural for Petrarch, who was, as Professor Mommsen has shown, the first to coin the phrase "the dark Middle Ages", to look for enlightenment to Cicero who had brought to Rome new light from Greece, to feel reborn through Cicero just as Cicero had been rededicated by Greek thought. But on the other hand, Petrarch, who had also another model before him, the church father Augustine whose incessant demand of the *reditus in se ipsum* he could never silence in himself, was also forced to maintain critical distance from his pagan master, to admire him only in so far as a Christian is allowed to admire a heathen, to put barriers to his own overflowing enthusiasm. As to the flaws which Petrarch points out in the character of Cicero, worldliness and fickleness of disposition, it is not difficult to surmise that what he is excoriating in Cicero is what he knows to be also flaws of his own character (flaws of which he has become aware through his Augustinian conscience). Is it not well-known that we are most merciless against those whom we admire whole-heartedly but who disappoint us by having the same weakness that we hate in ourselves?

But for blaming Cicero in his letter, Petrarch had also motives of a more literary nature: first, he is imitating Cicero in this very

habit of blaming persons he otherwise worships: did not Cicero blame Epicurus for the lack of harmony between his words and his deeds, did he not, as Petrarch phrases it in another letter, "praise Epicurus' life and ridicule his intellect"? It is strange for us, perhaps, to imagine the imitation of an ancient writer to take the form of an imitation of a mental attitude of his—but strange only because we, with our modern restless concept of life ever in evolution and directed toward progress, are not equally able to see any achievement in modestly reliving in our literary output the experiences of past ages while the humanist Petrarch saw progress precisely in the literary re-evocation of the past. But the chiding tone in Petrarch's letter is also in another respect an imitation of Cicero whose habit it was to show his intimacy and familiarity with a correspondent by good-natured chiding and teasing and indeed, at times, to create an atmosphere of immediacy by chiding and teasing—for an attack is surely a most direct way of bringing about contact. "Familiarity"—with this term in mind we ultimately may understand the genesis of the teasing letters to Cicero who has become to him a *familiaris,* a friend and a correspondent in both the senses in which Cicero had used this term. It is out of familiarity with Cicero's writings that Petrarch takes the liberty of throwing back at him phrases used effectively by the latter: e.g., Cicero had said of himself self-pityingly, "Oh meam calamitosam ac praecipitem senectutem!"—which sentence Petrarch twists into a cruel attack on Cicero (l. 13), "Oh praeceps et calamitose senex!"—an attack by quotation made possible only by familiarity with Cicero. And this same familiarity explains also the fictionalization, or dramatization, of a physical incident that may have actually happened, but that appears in Petrarch's letters as though it were a result of protracted animosity between two men who, given their similarities, should only be friendly to each other: the motif of "my Cicero injuring me", of the Cicero codex, with which Petrarch had lived for 14 years, asking for a higher station and, with ostensibly constant Ciceronian vehemence, suddenly and whimsically endangering his admirer's health. This assumption of mine is borne out by Boccaccio, according to a letter written to him by Petrarch in 1360 about the same incident (cf. Cosenza, *loc. cit.*):

I greatly enjoyed the portion of your letter where you say that I was undeservedly injured by Cicero because (as you very neatly put it) of my *too great familiarity* with him. You are right: those with whom we live on the most intimate terms are the ones who most often molest us. It is a most rare and unusual thing indeed for a Hindu to offend a Spaniard . . . I was hurt by

Cicero with whom *I most ardently desire to live on intimate terms.* But I hope that I shall never be injured either by Hippocrates or by Albumazar. [Italics mine.]

Here Petrarch realizes seriously, in spite of his jocular tone, the risks of familiarity: the desire for complete and absolute communion which is, however, never realizable and whose elusiveness may produce unrest and disappointment; and this risk is that which every true humanist has felt at some time (including those of us today who would immerse ourselves in the literatures of other periods and peoples: *qua* humanists we are forced to face the problems at the same time of *closeness* and *distance*).

Whereas Petrarch, at the dawn of humanism, shows himself to us as a spirit torn between two civilizations which he felt it his duty to harmonize (indeed, he has lived for us the exemplary life of the humanist between the ages, with its temptations and pitfalls), we find, at the point of *culmination* of the Renaissance, the independent existence, in Poliziano, of two distinct poetic climates, ancient and modern, as revealed in the radical difference of his poetry (even when he treats the same subject matter) according to whether Latin or Italian is chosen. We shall first compare a Latin poem of Poliziano about the violets (given to the poet by his mistress) with parallel Italian descriptions of flowers by him and his poetic school:

IN VIOLAS A VENERE MEA DONA ACCEPTAS

Molles o violae, Veneris munuscula nostrae,
dulce quibus tanti pignus amoris inest,
quae vos, quae genuit tellus? Quo nectare odoras
sparserunt Zephyri mollis et aura comas?
Vosne in Acidaliis aluit Venus aurea campis?
Vosne sub Idalio pavit Amor nemore?
His ego crediderim citharas ornare corollis
Permessi in roseo margine Pieridas.
Hoc flore ambrosios incingit Flora capillos,
hos tegit indociles Gratia blanda sinus.
Haec Aurora suae nectit redimicula fronti,
cum roseum verno pandit ab axe diem
Talibus Hesperidum rutilant violaria gemmis,
floribus his pictum possidet Aura nemus.
His distincta pii ludunt per gramina manes,
hos fetus vernae Chloridos herba parit.
Felices nimium violae, quas carpserit illa
dextera quae miserum me mihi subripuit:
quas roseis digitis formoso admoverit ori

illi, unde in me spicula torquet Amore.
Forsitan et vobis haec illinc gratia venit,
tantus honor dominae spirat ab ore meae.
Aspice lacteola blanditur ut illa colore,
aspice purpureis ut rubet haec foliis.
Hic color est dominae, roseo cum dulce pudore
pingit lacteolas purpura grata genas.
Quam dulcem labris, quam late spirat odorem!
En, violae, in vobis ille remansit odor.
O fortunatae violae, mea vita meumque
delicium o animi portus et aura mei!
A vobis saltem, violae, grata oscula carpam;
vos avida tangam terque quaterque manu.
Vos lacrimis satiabo meis, quae maesta per ora
perque sinum vivi fluminis instar eunt.
Combibite has lacrimas, quae lentae pabula flammae
saevus amor nostris exprimit ex oculis.
Vivite perpetuum, violae, nec solibus aestus
nec mordaci frigore carpat hiems.
Vivite perpetuum miseri solamen amoris,
o violae, o nostri grata quies animi!
Vos eritis mecum semper, vos semper amabo,
torquebor pulchra dum miser a domina,
dumque Cupidineae carpent mea pectora flammae,
dum mecum stabunt et lacrimae et gemitus.

The poem falls into three parts:

I. ll. 1–16: description of the beauty of the violets as examples of the beauty of nature.
II. ll. 17–28: the violets owe their beauty to the beloved.
III. ll. 29–to the end: the violets will for ever be a vicarious consolation for the sufferings of the love-stricken poet.

In each of these parts a *cumulative* effect is sought: in each of them the wealth of conceptual material brought together by the poet serves to underline *one* basic idea which is, in addition, hammered into us by the anaphoras: in part I you find the anaphoric demonstrative pronouns *his, hoc, haec, talibus* (7, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16) intended to emphasize the analogy of *these* violets with the flowers created by different pagan gods and demigods in mythological times and places; in part II the insistence is on *illa, illi, illinc* etc. (17, 20, 21, 28) representing the beloved, the giver of grace, color, smell, this perfection being pointed out to our vision by *aspice* (23, 24)

and *en* (28). In part III the pronoun *vos* stands out (31, 32, 33, 38, 41), pointing to the violets, and the numerous vocatives—*O fortunatae violae* (29), *O animi portus* (30), *O violae, o nostri grata quies animi* (40)—as well as the imperatives *combibite* (35), *vivite* (37, 39) cause our imagination to concentrate on the violets alone, on the only consolation left to the poet. This quantitative or enumerative procedure is obviously *rhetorical* in character, as if addressed to an audience that must be convinced, and has been borrowed from Ovid, the most rhetorical of the Augustan poets. Poliziano deliberately isolates the tiny flowers in order to heap on them all the eulogies of which the ancient poet-rhetoricians, so much given to admiration, were capable. But praise excludes empathy, in this case the identification of the poet with the lives of the flowers as such—the flowers to which he wishes perpetual life only because they are his consolation.

How different from the Latin poem "In violas" is Poliziano's representation of the flowers in his description of the Garden of Venus offered in the Italian poem "Stanze per la giostra di Giuliano dei Medici":

Cotal milizia i tuoi figli accompagna,
Venere bella madre degli Amori.
Zefiro il prato di rugiada bagna
Spargendolo di mille vaghi odori:
Ovunque vola, veste la campagna
Di rose gigli violette e fiori:
L'erba di sue bellezze ha meraviglia,
Bianca cilestra pallida e vermiglia.

Trema la mammoletta verginella
Con occhi bassi onesta e vergognosa:
Ma vie piú lieta, piú ridente e bella
Ardisce aprire il seno al sol la rosa:
Questa di verde gemma s'incappella:
Quella si mostra allo sportel vezzosa:
L'altra che 'n dolce foco ardea pur ora
Languida cade e il bel pratello infiora.

The motifs treated here are essentially the same as in the Latin poem: Venus, Amor, Zephyr, the different stages of bloom or decadence illustrated here by the roses (a traditional motif borrowed from the Latin Anthology, Claudian, Ausonius, etc.), but in the Italian stanzas the rhetorical apparatus of the Latin poem has completely disappeared and each flower is described "empathically" as

an organism living in itself, not subjected to a purpose of the poet. The grass that contains all those various flowers is presented as "happy" in the enjoyment of the wondrous tints which have become as much the attributes of the grass as of the flowers—happy in itself, that is (we remember that "selig in ihm selbst" is the description of beauty in a famous verse of the German poet Mörike). We moderns would be tempted to exchange the 44 lines of the Latin poem *In violas* for the two Italian ones on the violet:

> Trema la mammoletta verginella
> con occhi bassi onesta e vergognosa

in which the flower has become a human being with a frail, trembling feminine body, shy glance, and feelings of modesty and chastity. Similarly the roses are portrayed with human attitudes: one decks herself coquettishly with jewelry, another shows herself ostentatiously at the window, another falls languidly. The empathy of the poet goes here so far that he must lend them human feelings, such as *could* arise in flowers, which are no longer used as pretext for the poet's feelings. And, of course, in the Italian stanzas, the music of the Italian tongue is able to come to fruition, as in ll. 7, 8:

> L'erba di sue bellezze ha meraviglia,
> Bianca cilestra pallida e vermiglia—

where shades of color are translated into sound values, into delicate orchestral effects among which *cilestra* may represent the tone of the tambourine and *pallida* that of the harpsichord, or in the musical *coda* of the second octave by which the withering of the rose is rendered acoustically: *lànguida cáde e il bel pratèllo infióra.* Indeed the whole stanza (ll. 9–16), which will be imitated by Ariosto and Tasso, offers to the inner eye a visual curve rendered by the curve of the verse, from the lowered state of the violet to the budding rose, to the roses that exhibit their beauty, back to the lowly state of the withering flower—a perfect half circle.

We said that in Poliziano's Italian poem there is no suggestion of flowers being *subordinated* to the service of Love. But even when this suggestion is found in an Italian poem, the contrast with the Latin "In violas" will be great, although it will be a contrast different from the one just pointed out. Here I shall exemplify by a poem not of Poliziano, but of his friend and protector Lorenzo il Magnifico: it was indeed a custom of these two friends of poetry, and friends in poetry, to vie with each other in composing poems on the

same subject. Here is Lorenzo's Italian poem on the violets sent by his mistress:

O bella violetta, tu sei nata
ove giá 'l primo mio bel disio nacque:
lacrime triste e belle furon l'acque
che t'han nutrita e piú volte bagnata.

Pietate in quella terra fortunata
nutrí il disio, ove il bel cesto giacque:
la bella man ti colse, e poi li piacque
di far la mia di si bel don beata.

E mi pare ad ognor fuggir ti voglia
a quella bella mano; onde ti tegno
al nudo petto dolcemente stretta;

Al nudo petto, ché desire e doglia
tiene loco del cor, che 'l petto ha a sdegno,
e stassi onde tu vieni, o violetta.

Here the poet, without attempting to describe the violet, treats it only as a love-token traveling between two points in space: from *la bella mano* of the lady to the *nudo petto* of the poet who presses it to his heart. We are made to realize that the attraction exerted by the lady is rendered by the sevenfold repetition of the epithet *bello*—as if the poet's poor bare chest (*petto* is only twice repeated) could not defend itself against the overwhelming attractive power of that superhuman force of beauty. The poem will center exclusively on the magnetic current which goes from *la bella mano* to the *nudo petto* and in reverse. The reference to the lady's hand may remind us of the *dextera* (l. 18 of the Latin poem), but whereas in the "In violas" our attention is diverted to extend also to the lovely lips of the lady, to her fragrance and complexion (as the source of the violets' charm), in Lorenzo's tiny sonnet only the fact of the flower's departure and arrival is stressed: for indeed the course covered by the violet has already been traveled, in reverse, by the poet's heart, which had left him for his lady, who is the source both of the violet and of his love. This symbolism of a to-and-fro movement is followed through the sonnet: in the opening line *Oh bella* VIOLETTA *tu sei nata* OVE . . . the order followed is that from the violet itself to its source; in the final line *e stassi* ONDE *tu vieni, o* VIOLETTA from source to violet—a chiastic arrangement symbolic of the inverse movements of heart and flower. While the first quatrain represents the beloved as the source of the poet's desire, in the last tercet she figures as the

destination and final dwelling-place of his heart. At the end, then, the poet is left with a flower in place of the heart. We have before us, obviously, a poem of Petrarchistic spirit with its conceits and paradoxes—the conceit being developed to its most paradoxial consequences. And indeed only in an Italian poem could a Petrarchistic mood be sustained: the dualism "soul against body", so dear to Christian poetry, is not associable with classical Latin words which are lacking in any suggestion of the psycho-physical perplexities of the Christian mind, of that *suture* between body and soul which Montaigne recognized in Christianity. In the poem "In violas" we were either on the bodily plane or on the sentimental plane. In Lorenzo's sonnet we witness the continuous interaction or fusion between body and soul: *la bella mano* made the hand of the poet happy (*beata*), the tears of pity with which the lady watered the flowers are *triste e belle* (a state of mind and a sensuous impression being combined), the chest, a part of the *body,* is deprived of the heart, the organ of *feeling*. Here we sense an *ambiente* totally different from the "either-or-climate" of the Latin "In violas".

To return to Poliziano's Latin poetry, I shall discuss now a poem in which the "either-or-climate" is most rigorously maintained: on the one hand sensuous beauty, on the other expression of feeling—the feeling of mourning engendered by the death of sensuous beauty. The poem is about the death of Simonetta Vespucci, a young married woman loved by Giuliano de' Medici who was described by Poliziano in the "Stanzas on the Joust" in lines that inspired Botticelli to paint his allegorical figure of spring. She died young and, as Lorenzo tells us, when her body was carried to the cemetery in an open bier the Florentines are said to have wept at the beauty of the dead Simonetta in whom the verse of Petrarch seemed to have come true: "Morte bella parea nel suo bel viso". Here is Poliziano's Latin dirge:

Dum pulchra effertur nigro Simonetta pheretro,
  Blandus et exanimi spirat in ore lepos,
Nactus amor tempus quo non sibi turba caveret,
  Iecit ab occlusis mille faces oculis.
Mille animos coepit viventi imagine risus
  Ac morti insultans:Est mea, dixit, adhuc:
Est mea, dixit, adhuc:nondum totam eripis illam:
  Illa vel exanimis militat ecce mihi.
Dixit, et ingemuit:neque enim satis apta triumphis
Illa puer vidit tempora, sed lachrymis.

The superhuman beauty of the dead woman is here presented objectively, serving to inspire a struggle between the mythological figures of Cupid and Death. We see first Amor as a frolicsome lad who uses the dead body of Simonetta to play tricks on his retinue and to capture love-victims like a hunter, but who in the midst of his boastful claims of victory is forced to recognize his defeat at the hands of an adversary who does not enter the stage, but acts within Cupid by dissolving the triumphant attitude of the latter into tears and making the god weep as the grieving Florentines had wept. This poem must be considered in the light of the humanistic discovery of statues and carved jewelry of antiquity in which Death was represented, not as a skeleton (as in medieval dances of death), but as a beautiful, young, winged deity similar to Morpheus or to Cupid, but distinguished from these by the torch in his hand: a torch whose flame is extinguished. The ancients, then, as Lessing knew, were able to see, in their description of death, beauty triumphant over death. Poliziano may have had in mind such antique representations of Death whose figure was indistinct from that of Cupid and this may have led him to the idea of a rivalry, not between devil and angel fighting for the soul of a Christian, but, in pagan concern for a beautiful body, between the twin brothers Death and Cupid. The latter in our poem proceeds as if in defiance of Death's traditional act of extinguishing the torch, to strike a thousand flames from the eyes of the dead beauty—it is true, only for an ephemeral moment. The separation of body and soul could not be more complete than in this Latin poem: we are first offered a personification of corporeal beauty in Simonetta and in Cupid we see the gay god of sensuous love; thus, the tears caused by the death of beauty must come to us as a shock, and provoke a reaction quite separate from the esthetic admiration of beauty aroused in us before. This poem is truly ancient in its pagan inspiration: had it been written in Italian the separation of the two levels could not have been maintained; sensuous love would have necessarily appeared with connotations of Christian spiritualization as it does in Petrarch, to whom the motifs of love fighting Death and of the latter extinguishing the flames of the eyes of his beloved are not unknown.

According to what we have seen of the Italian and Latin poetry of Poliziano, the schism between the two languages and the two cultures would seem to be absolute. But if we turn to another figure of the same period, we will find a poet who succeeded in transposing Italian themes and genres into Latin. Pontano has been able to pre-

sent in impeccable Latin the sorrows and joys of everyday family life as well as the sensuous enjoyment of love. In his collection *De amore conjugali* he has, as Gaspary phrased it, "made married life poetic": the wife Ariadna appears here not only as a faithful and faithfully loved Penelope but also as a sensuous lover giving to her aging husband all the erotic joy which a Lesbia or Corinna could give to ancient poets, or, again, as a Baucis living ideally with her Philemon and finally dying, mourned by her husband. As he lets us pass in review the whole life of a well-married couple, Pontano shows himself, in this Latin work, to be a past master of transposition, especially of linguistic transposition, in accord with his own pronouncement that Latin, the *Romana lingua,* should be the national language of his contemporary Italy—indeed he left us not a single line intended for publication in his native Italian. To give one example, in the 12 *naeniae* or lullabies contained in *De amore conjugali* there are presented all the possibilities given in an Italian *ninna nanna* to loving parents concerned with the task of lulling a child to sleep (ostensibly an Italian child whose mother tongue would seem by miracle to be Latin): allusions to the quiet night that encompasses the child Luciolus, to the dog Luscula that is sleeping too, to the breasts of the nurse Lisa that will give milk to him exclusively and that belong not to the nurse but to him; praise of Luciolus who is a good boy while other little boys are naughty, threats of the bogy-man (*Orcus*) who is ready to swallow naughty babies. Here is the first *naenia* (with a modern Italian translation):

NAENIA PRIMA AD SOMNUM PROVOCANDUM

Somne, veni; tibi Luciolus blanditur ocellis:
somne, veni, venias, blandule somne, veni.
Luciolus tibi dulce candit, somne, optime somne:
somne, veni, venias, blandule somne, veni.
Luciolus vocat in thalamos te, blandule somne,
somnule dulcicule, blandule somnicule.
Ad cunas te Luciolus vocat: huc, age, somne,

O Sonno, vieni, il bimbo vezzéggiati già con gli occhini,
o sonno o vezzosetto sonno, discendi vieni.
Lucietto mio ti canta soave, vieni, ottimo sonno,
o sonno o vezzosetto sonno, discendi vieni.
Lucietto alla sua stanza ti chiama, o sonnino vezzoso
sonnetto dolcettino, vezzosetto sonnino
Ti chiama alla sua culla Lucietto, qui affréttati, sonno,

somne, veni ad cunas, somne, age, somne veni.
Accubitum te Luciolus vocat, eia age, somne,
eia age, somne, veni, noctis amice, veni.
Luciolus te ad pulvinum vocat, instat ocellis:
Somne, veni, venias, eia age, somne, veni.
Luciolus te in complexum vocat, innuit ipse,
innuit: en venias, en modo, somne, veni.
Venisti, bone somne, boni pater alme soporis,
qui curas hominum corporaque aegra levas.

sonno, alla culla vieni, sonno, t'affretta, vieni.
Al nido suo ti chiama Lucietto, su affréttati, sonno,
t'affretta sonno, amico della notte, qui vieni.
Lucietto al suo guanciale ti chiama e ti fa l'occhiolino,
sonno, discendi, vieni, t'affretta, sonno, vieni.
Lucietto ad abbracciarti ti chiama: non vedi? fa cenni;
cenno ti fa, su vieni, ma presto, sonno, vieni.
Venisti, o grato sonno, padre almo del grato sopore
che le tristezze umane e i corpi egri sollevi.

If we compare the Latin text with its classical elegiac meter to the Italian twentieth-century translation in rhymed quatrains, the type of *ninna nanna* which must have existed as well in the fifteenth century and was surely the model paraphrased by Pontano, we recognize that the numerous Latin diminutives correspond more to the spirit of Italian than to that of Latin, but that on the other hand the coinages themselves (*somnule blandule, somnicule dulcicule*) are all justified by Latin, especially late Latin models (cf. Hadrian's *animula vagula blandula*). It is their frequency alone that is unclassical, devised as they are to produce the same lulling effect of musical monotony as do the repetitions of words (*veni venias*) which somehow take the place of Italian rhymes. While the stylistic level of the *naenia* is determined in general by a simplicity of vocabulary accessible to the child, Pontano has lifted the genre to a higher literary level than is usual in lullabies in the vernaculars. Solemn ancient mythology takes here the place of the cosy *bambino Gesù*. We have before us an incantation addressed to the ancient god of sleep, Morpheus, "the friend of night" and "the father of slumber" (*sopor,* a more poetic term than *somnus*), the "soother of all human pain" (a quasi-philosophical formula reminiscent of Ovid's *somne quies rerum*)—a continuous incantation (*veni, venias, huc age, veni*) which, at the end of the poem, has become effective: *venisti* "you have come". Surely the overtures which the child is represented as making to Morpheus are, in their monotonous prayerful insistency,

fitting in this invocation of a god (*tibi canit, vocat in thalamos, instat ocellis, accubitum vocat, ad pulvinum vocat, in complexum vocat, innuit*). The atmosphere, while still that of the nursery, is filled with awe, as before a friendly ancient *numen.* The underlying Italian lullaby has thus been lifted to classical heights. Indeed we are reminded here of numerous humanistic poems in the tradition of Statius' invocation of Morpheus by the sleepless poet *Crimine quo merui:* Flaminio's *Huc age, o bone somne, veni, o dulcissime somne* or Giovanni della Casa's Italian sonnet *Oh sonno.* Thus our poet has filled the framework of neoclassical poems on insomnia with the content of a *ninna nanna* and the atmosphere of the nursery. Of Pontano's last *naenia* I shall quote only two distichs:

Suge: canam tibi naeniolam, Nae. . naenia nonne
nota tibi, nate, est naenia naeniola?
Pupe meus, pupille meus, nae . . naenia nonne
nota tibi, nate, est naenia naeniola?

Succhia, la ninnarella dirò: non t' è nota la nanna,
la ninna nanna, nini, non sai la ninnarella?
O pupo mio, pupetto! t' è nota la ninna, la nanna,
la ninna nanna, nini, non sai la ninnarella?

Here we find another device intended to convey something of that musical element so necessary to the lullaby: alliteration. It is historically interesting to note that it was Pontano who coined this current term of ours, *alliteration,* after the model of the Latin *adnominatio:* indeed Pontano has inserted into one of his dialogues a lengthy discussion of the esthetic value of this device; *suavitas, mulcere aures, titillatio auribus* are his phrases descriptive of the device whose soothing quality must then have appealed to him as appropriate for a lullaby. And most interesting in this connection is the reduplicated word *naenaenia* which Pontano expressly coined for our lullaby, to further the alliterative effect. We must again admire here the capacity of the Neo-Latin poet to remain within the classical Latin tradition while at the same time capturing musical effects given to Italian words: obviously *naenaenia* is intended as a transposition of the Italian word *ninna-nanna,* which also shows reduplication, though of a different rhythmical type, and at the same time the neologism *naenaenia* follows the reduplicative pattern traditional in Latin with such onomatopeic words as *susurrus* or *murmur:* indeed *naenia* itself, with its two *n*'s belongs to this type (cf. Ernout-Meillet's etymological dictionary). Thus Pontano, with his rare philological genius, has found the point of intersection between Latin and Italian word-

formational tendencies and he has expanded possibilities of expression given to classical Latin so as to meet the demands of a popular Italian genre—the reverse of the tendency of DuBellay's *illustration de la langue française* since it involves an enrichment, not of the vernacular by Latin, but of Latin by the vernacular.

As our last example of Neo-Latin poetry, one more poem by Pontano, written in his old age and inserted into the collection called *Eridanus,* a love poem of sensuous, pagan hedonism, of Catullian inspiration. In an eclogue written soon after his wife's death he had introduced himself, under the name of Melisaeus, among the traditional shepherds to receive their condolences and their consolations: time, he is assured by them, will heal his wounds, and from the name *Melisaeus* (from Greek *melissa* "bee") we may infer that Pontano, describing himself as a bee who is able to suck honey from any flower, wishes to warn his public—and perhaps also his wife in the beyond—of possible future amorousness. In the first book of *Eridanus* he will then sing exclusively of his new sensuous love for Stella—only in the opening poem of the second book to implore, somewhat belatedly, the pardon of Ariadna for his dalliance with Stella: soon, he tells her, he will be with Ariadna in the Elysian fields where they will celebrate their renewed wedding. To Pontano's propitiating request no answer from Ariadna has been attested . . . And now our selection from the first book:

STELLAM ADLOQUITUR

Quale per aestatem sub sole rigentibus herbis
blanditur lapsis aura recens foliis,
quale per arentis hortos in vere tepenti
nox mulcet teneras rore madente rosas,
tale mihi dum mens languet, dum pectora fervent
nostraque in incertum vela gubernat amor,
tale seni solamen ades mihi dulcior Hyblae,
Stella, favis, umbra gratior Idalia.
Aura recens nam, Stella, mihi flagrante sub aestu
ipsa meos ignes rore madente levas.
E labris mihi ros, ex ore recentior aura
spirat, Stella, tuo, stillat et ipse liquor.—*Erid.* I, 13.

We recognize in this Latin poem of 12 lines a ternary structure, similar to that of the sonnet in which two parallel parts culminate in a third, their synthesis—and it may well be that Pontano has deliberately transposed into Latin an underlying Italian sonnet of his which he has not left us. In what I would call the first two quatrains

a simile is developed, indicated by the repeated use of *quale* in the first (which describes the leaves parched by the heat of the sun, to which the vernal breeze and the dew of the night bring relief) and of *tale* in the second quatrain, depicting the old man refreshed by the youthful ardor of Stella; and in the third and final quatrain (the *coda* of the sonnet) the honey of her kiss meets with the dew of his amorous lips. We find a comparable arrangement of a simile in the (as far as content is concerned, quite different) famous sonnet of Ronsard "Comme on voit sur la branche au mois de mai la rose". Both poems produce a mood of poise and equilibrium in the reader who with Ronsard witnesses the quiet funerary ritual of the cult of beauty, with Pontano the quiet consummation of mature erotic love. We may surmise that the simile symmetrically distributed over the first two quatrains is symbolic of the balance between desire and fulfillment which is anticipated in these two stanzas. In the third we find the device, known to us from the *naeniae,* of repetition or variation of previously used word-material: the *aura recens* of 2 reappears in 9 and 11; the *rore madente* of 4 in 10; the vocative *Stella* of 8 in 9 and 12, the *mihi* of 5, 7 in 9, 10; *sub sole* of 1 in 9 *flagrante sub aestu;* even the device of alliteration (5 *mihi dum mens,* 7 *seni solamen*) is brought to culmination in the last line *spirat, Stella, stillat* in which the liquids *Stella stillat Liquor,* predominating over the *r*'s which had colored the preceding line (*Ros Recentior aura*), seem to announce the triumph, in the wedding of dew and honey which is the kiss, of sweetness over freshness. The description of the kiss is entirely sensuous and hedonistic, as it befits a *Melisaeus*—no meeting of souls being involved (as in Bembo's neoplatonic definition of the kiss in the *Cortegiano: congiungimento d'anima*), not even a meeting of bodies as in Rodin's sculpture, only one of sensuous substances, dew and honey. But this description has become music through the interplay of word- and sound-motifs. If these repetitions of words and sounds were found only within the *quale-tale* simile, we would have to do simply with a conventional anaphoric device whereby the parallelism between the two halves of the comparison is stressed. Actually placed as they are in increasing number in the final part of the poem, they serve to produce the final impression of consummation attained, of quiet, static, saturated, sensuous languor and somnolence: passion subsists in a subdued manner in this torrid climate of nirwana-like motionlessness. Has not passion itself, like a child, been lulled to sleep by an incantation? The incantatory values of Pontano's poetic language, so different from the oratorical flavor of

other Neo-Latin poetry, are predominant in this poem as in others that came from his pen, whether erotic or domestic: all his poems *mulcent* or *titillant aures* with their *suavitas;* they may be called poems of magic, *charmes,* to use the term of Valéry.

But, of course, while Valéry is able to exercise his incantatory poetic artistry with the help of what he calls "similitudes amies", that is of new word associations whose acoustic-semantic impact has an hypnotic effect on the fascinated reader, Pontano, having at his disposal only classical Latin with its static, neatly circumscribed vocabulary, its set phrases, its strictly regulated metrics, its monumental character, was able to bring novelty, originality, and a poetic magic appealing to the modern reader into his poems only by introducing a new intensity, new patterns of design achieved by his repetitions, new rhythms which offer a counterpoint to the preordained metrical progression of the verse. Pontano's particular propensity toward repetition was recognized but condemned by his contemporary Scaliger, who once maliciously intimated that a whole book of Pontanian lyrics consists in nothing but repetition of words such as *rose, violet, play, Venus, graces, muses, spring breathes, Ambrosian liquid,* etc. And he continues: "A word so often repeated stinketh, niceties become filthy, spring turns into winter, the Muses' voice doth crow and Amor becomes vomitory". Pontano's repetitiousness, according to him, is due only to the erroneous belief held by this poet that whatever came out of his pen was worthy of being forwarded to posterity—a most ungenerous judgment which rather reflects on the critic who failed to sense the particular incantatory or hypnotic charm of Pontano's poetry.

We are able now to grasp the main problem which presented itself to Neo-Latin poets in general: how to give the flavor of *new* personal emotion to the *traditional* Latin vocabulary? It was one thing to attempt to write philosophical treaties or letters in the style of Cicero, satires in that of Martial, tragedies in that of Seneca, and even eclogues in Virgilian fashion; it is another to find a Latin medium of expression for the unique, immediate, personal emotions, especially the emotions of love, that most generic feeling of mankind that, wrongly or rightly, is conceived by us as requiring the most personal expressions. The words we normally use in our vernaculars in order to render what has moved us deeply have grown with us during our lives and have thus acquired close affinity to our feelings: we have been tender, we have been sad; when this happens, something in us says the *words* "tender", "sad"—and with these words

we become still tenderer or sadder. Hofmannsthal has described in famous lines the heritage of somber beauty which any German feels in his word for "evening", *Abend.*

> Und dennoch sagt der viel, der *Abend* sagt,
> Ein Wort, daraus Tiefsinn und Trauer rinnt
> Wie schwerer Honig aus den hohlen Waben.

The modern French critic Thibaudet, reading the two lines of Racine:

> Quels charmes ont pour vous des yeux infortunés
> Qu'à des pleurs éternels vous avez condamnés

is able to reënact from his own muscular and nervous experiences of the past the sensuous and emotional values treasured up for ever in the French words *charmes* et *pleurs* and thus to revive in himself the particular erotic nuance which colors the tears of women in Racine. But the corresponding terms of a dead language learnt from books, never uttered spontaneously in actual emotional situations of life, such as *lepores* and *lacrimae,* will ever be lacking in that evocative power which alone makes for immediacy of effect in lyrical poetry; at best they may recall to memory sentiments already exploited by the ancient poets—hence the enormous mass of imitative poems in Renaissance Latin. Only the best among the Neo-Latin poets (a Pontano, a Giovanni Cotta) were able to reach uniqueness and immediacy of feeling by putting alien words into constructs suggestive of the organic life of emotion, by allowing the atmosphere of remoteness and distance implied by the use of the Latin idiom to be warmed by accents carried over from the vernacular. Of course if one should ask why Renaissance poets in general, and especially Italian poets who had at their disposal *la lingua del bel paese laddove il sì suona,* should have gratuitously spurned their mother-tongue to write in a dead language the hard crust of which they were compelled to thaw by Herculean efforts—we could only answer with the counter-question: why did Góngora and Mallarmé write the way they wrote? The work of the poet, as Valéry has said, is *une combinaison d'ascétisme et de jeu,* a combination of asceticism and play.

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# The "New Learning": a Semantic Note

MODERN SCHOLARS are well aware of the inexactitude and ambiguity of the terms "Renaissance" and "humanism". We continue to find the words useful, but we have adopted the practice of employing them cautiously, with precisely stated qualifications.[1] It is the purpose of this paper to point out, especially to students of the cultural history of England, that contradiction and ambiguity also lurk in the equally useful term "the new learning" and to urge a similar caution in employing it.

Historians of English literature commonly identify the New Learning (usually capitalized) with the revival of classical learning in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. They may use the term narrowly to mean the revival of interest in the language and literature of ancient Greece,[2] or somewhat more broadly to include the revival of "classical" Latin. Some writers will also include the Biblical scholarship of such men as Erasmus and Reuchlin.[3] Most commonly, however, the literary historians employ the term in an even wider sense to designate the whole of the so-called humanistic tradition of the Renaissance. Thus, in a recent authoritative history, the late Tucker Brooke applies the title "The New Learning" to a chapter which considers the work of Humphrey duke of Gloucester, Grocyn, Linacre, Colet, William Lyly, Erasmus, Elyot, Ascham, and the antiquaries Leland, Bale, Stow, and Camden.[4] In this context, plainly, the New Learning includes such topics as the search for classical manuscripts, the study of both Greek and the "pure and chaste" Latin, the new Biblical scholarship, the reform of education, the newly revived concept of *humanitas,* antiquarianism, Renaissance secularism in general.

On the other hand, writers on English political and ecclesiastical history frequently use the term "new learning" to mean the reformation of religion, particularly the Lutheranism which began to manifest itself in England about 1520. So distinguished a historian as A. F. Pollard firmly asserts his right to use *new learning* to mean the new

[1] See, for example, C. S. Lewis' careful limitation upon his use of the terms *humanism* and *humanist* in his *English Literature in the Sixteenth Century, excluding Drama* (Oxford, 1954, *The Oxford History of English Literature,* Vol. III), 18.

[2] It is so used by Arthur Tilley in his valuable "Greek Studies in England in the Early Sixteenth Century," *EHR,* LIII (1938), 221–239, 438–456.

[3] Lewis, *loc. cit.*

[4] *The Literary History of England,* ed. A. C. Baugh (New York, 1948), 326–335. The work of Sir Thomas More is the subject of the next chapter, called "The New World".

religion, the new doctrines.[5] H. A. L. Fisher, in what is generally regarded as a standard history of the early Tudors, writes that Anne Boleyn, her father, and her brother "were all addicted to the new learning; and the whole influence of the Queen's circle was thrown into the scale of rebellion from Rome".[6]

It is not surprising, in the light of this apparent contradiction, that some scholars whose work has led them across the shadow-line which separates Tudor literary history from Tudor ecclesiastical history use the term "new learning" in tones which suggest uncertainty or even confusion. An example of uncertainty on the literary side may be found in David Daiches' excellent study of the Authorized Version of the Bible: "But once humanism had crossed the Alps it changed greatly in tone. . . . the Renaissance became implicated in the Reformation, and the 'New Learning' became an instrument in the hands of the reformers."[7] Here the quotation marks added to the capitals—"New Learning"—hint at the writer's awareness of the two uses of the term; the New Learning is not the Reformation, but it includes the new Biblical scholarship and is therefore an instrument of the Reformation. An example of confusion on the historical side may be found in the last work of the late H. Maynard Smith, a distinguished historian of the Anglican Church. Canon Smith could write that Cardinal Wolsey was "quite willing to welcome the New Learning, and thought that heresy would be dissipated when the clergy had been better educated at his new colleges", and that Sir Thomas More's "enthusiasm for the New Learning did not disturb his faith in the old verities".[8] Here the context as well as the capitalization sufficiently indicates that the revival of classical learning is being referred to. Yet if you follow up the entries under "Learning, New" in the index to Smith's book, you will find that many of them relate to the Lutheran heresy and to heretical books.

It was with a laudable desire to resolve such ambiguities as these that R. W. Chambers, in his life of Sir Thomas More, undertook to set the record straight:

'The New Learning' originally meant the study of the classics, especially of the newly-introduced Greek. But the phrase also came to be used to signify the

[5] A. F. Pollard, *Wolsey* (London, 1929), 26, n. 2.

[6] H. A. L. Fisher, *The History of England from the Accession of Henry VII to the Death of Henry VIII* (London, 1906), 383.

[7] David Daiches, *The King James Version of the English Bible. An Account of the Development and Sources of the English Bible of 1611 with Special Reference to the Hebrew Tradition* (Chicago, 1941), 76.

[8] H. Maynard Smith, *Henry VIII and the Reformation* (London, 1948), 353, 354.

new doctrines of the Reformation. Obviously there is no direct connection; a man may be devoted to Greek literature, without therefore holding Lutheran or Calvinistic doctrines, or wishing to smash statuary in churches. Yet there were bigoted theologians of the old school who distrusted Greek scholarship. Plato, they said, was a heathen, and the Greek church was schismatic; therefore these old fashioned obscurantists foolishly identified Greek learning with heresy and Protestant dogma. Oddly enough, modern critical historians have perpetuated their error by using the term 'New Learning' without making clear, either to their readers or themselves, in which of its two senses they were using it.[9]

We must be grateful to Chambers for indicating the danger of confusing the two senses of the term. But his confident assertion that the *new learning* first meant the revival of Greek learning and later came to mean also the doctrines of the Protestant Reformation seems to be an ingenious piece of fiction. Since it has been repeated by more than one writer,[10] it may be worth while to look at the record.

In my own reading of the literature and the historical records of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in England, I have not discovered a single instance of the use of the phrase "the new learning" to refer to the revival of classical learning. The earliest occurrences of the term I have encountered belong to the late 1520's and early 1530's, and they always relate to Lutheranism. In illustration, I cite first a passage from a letter written about 1531 by Hugh Latimer, when he was rector of West Kington in Wiltshire. For several years Latimer had been preaching the reform of religion with increasing boldness; his courageous demands for an authorized English Bible had brought him into national prominence. For these views he was publicly attacked by William Hubberdin, a learned friar who enjoyed a considerable reputation as a popular preacher.[11] Specifically, Hubberdin charged that Latimer was an advocate of the "new learning". Latimer's vehement letter to Hubberdin provides us with a clear statement of both the denotation and the connotation of the term:

For to begyn with all ye call the Scripture the new lerninge which I am sure ys older then any lerninge which ye wote to be the olde. And if ye will saye that it ys not the Scripture that you call new but other bokes latly put in English, I answere that the Scripture was the fyrst which you and your fautors condemned. Bysyde that those other for the most teache nothinge but that

[9] R. W. Chambers, *Thomas More* (London, [1934]), 84.

[10] For example, Lacey Baldwin Smith, *Tudor Prelates and Politics 1536–1558* (Princeton, 1953, *Princeton Studies in History*, vol. 8), 50–51, 289.

[11] For a detailed account of Latimer's quarrels with Hubberdin, see the present writer's *Hugh Latimer, Apostle to the English* (Philadelphia, 1954), 68–69, 88–93.

which ys manifest in the Scripture and also playne in the auncient doctors. I speake not of your old doctors, Duns and Saint Thomas, Halcot, Bright & others; but of Augustine, Hierome, Chrisostom, Ambrose, Hilary & such other, which in lyke manner be called new doctors as the Scripture new lerninge, and as Tullie new laten, as the text of Aristotle new philosophy and lyke wise of all sciences. & so in this appereth your fyrst lye, that ye call the Scripture new doctrine, except that ye wold call it new other because it makes the receavers of it new men or els that it ys now newly receved into the world for the condemnacioun of them that reiect it and the salvacioun of the receavers, of which newnes I am sure ye spake not. . . . But ye will saye ye condemn nat the Scripture but Tyndals translacioun. Therein ye show your selfe contrary unto your words. For ye have condemned it in other tongues where in they be approved in other countries so that it is playne that it is the Scripture & nat the translacioun that ye barke against calling it new lernyng.[12]

Latimer's ironies sufficiently indicate that *new learning* was a term of opprobrium used by the religious conservatives against the teachings of Martin Luther and his English disciples. Perhaps it was a translation of *neue Lehre;* perhaps both the English and the German were renderings of the Latin *nova doctrina.*[13] The phrase referred to the Scriptures themselves, to the translations of the Scriptures in the vernacular languages (in 1531 this meant specifically the translations of Luther and Tyndale), to the Lutheran insistence upon the primacy of Scripture as against the church's unwritten verities, and to the writings of the continental and English theologians in which these views were set forth.

My second citation is from the preface to *The prayer and complaynt of the Ploweman unto Christ: writtē nat longe after the yere of our Lorde. M. & thre hūdred.*[14] This work was published by Marten de Keyser at Antwerp probably in 1531, the same date as Latimer's letter. The preface, headed "W. T. to the reder", was unquestionably the work of William Tyndale.

Christ our sauyoure and his apostels after him, although they taught no thynge which was nat taught in the lawe and the prophetes more than a M. yeres before, euer & in euery place desyringe the audyence to serche the olde scryptures & proue whether they testifyed with him or no. yet all this natwith-

[12] Harleian MS. 422, ff. 88–89. The letter, in Latimer's own hand, was evidently written in haste. I have omitted cancelled words, expanded the contractions, and slightly modernized the erratic punctuation.

[13] See below, p. xx.

[14] *S. T. C.* 20,036. For the attribution of the preface to Tyndale, see J. F. Mozley, *William Tyndale* (London, 1937), 346.

standing the scryves, the pharyses, the bysshops, the preestes, the lawyers, & the elders of the people, cryed alwayes: what newe lernynge is this? These felowes teache newe lernyng. These be they that trouble all the worlde with their newe lernynge. &c. . . . . Euen nowe after the same maner, that ye may grope with your fyngers, that our holye bysshops with all their ragmans rolle, be of the selfe same sort, & very chyldren of their fathers the pharyses, bysshops & preestes, which so accused Christ and his Apostels of new lerning ye do se howe they defame, sclaunder & persecute the same worde & prechers, and folowers of it, with the selfe same names, callynge it newe lernynge, and them new maisters[15]

Tyndale's analogy between the religious conservatives of his own day and the Biblical scribes and pharisees was probably suggested by Mark i.27, which reads in Tyndale's translation: "And they were all amased, in so moche that they demaunded one of another amonge them selves saying: what thinge is this? what newe doctryne is this?" The Greek word here translated as *doctrine* is διδαχή; the Latin of the Vulgate and of Erasmus is *doctrina.* Interestingly enough, *nova doctrina,* as will appear in a moment, is the Latin form of *new learning.*

It would be possible to match these passages from Latimer and Tyndale with many others from the polemical and theological writings of the second quarter of the sixteenth century. For my purposes, however, it will be sufficient to add two book-titles in which the term *new learning* occurs. *A cōparison betwene the Olde learnynge & the Newe, Translated out of latin in Englysh by Wylliam Turner. . . . Anno. 1537,*[16] was translated from the *Novae Doctrinae ad Veterem Collatio* of Urbanus Rhegius, which was published in 1526, probably at Augsburg. The book is a protestant discussion of the sacraments, free-will, faith *versus* works, "worshiping" of saints, fasting, vows, ceremonies, and so on. *The olde Fayth of greate Brittayne, and the newe learnynge of Inglande, Wherunto is added a symple instruction, concernynge the Kinges Maiesties procedinges in the cōmunyon. Compyled by R. U.,*[17] probably written in 1549, is a defense of the new order for Holy Communion, preceded by a historical survey designed to prove that the Book of Common Prayer represents a return to the old faith of the apostles brought to Celtic Britain in the first and second centuries, and that the real "new learning" is that of the bishops, brought to England by Augustine, who "set up a

[15] Sig. Aii$^{r}$—A ii$^{v}$.
[16] *S. T. C.* 20,840.
[17] *S. T. C.* 24,566.

banner, a crucifix, the popes Letany, and Masses, with bokes and relykes of holy saynctes".[18]

To these instances might be added scores of others from less literary sources. A few from the monumental collection of the letters and papers of the reign of Henry VIII will suffice. In 1534, Dan William Wynchelsey, a monk of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, declared that this new learning would set men by the ears and asserted that Archbishop Cranmer was the maintainer of it.[19] A year later, Thomas Corthop, curate of Harwich, denounced the "new learned fellows" who preached three sermons a day and taught the people neither to fast nor pray nor do almsdeeds.[20] Also in 1535, one Dr. Maydland, of the London Blackfriars, was accused of saying that he would like to see the king dead, the queen—"that mischievous whore"—burnt, and the head of every maintainer of the new learning upon a stake. By the science of necromancy he had learned that the new learning would be suppressed and the old learning restored by the king's enemies beyond the seas.[21] In 1537, Robert Aske, under examination for complicity in the Pilgrimage of Grace, was asked why, in inciting the people to rebellion, he had denounced Cranmer, Latimer, Shaxton and Barlow—the three latter now respectively the bishops of Worcester, Salisbury, and St. David's. Aske replied that they were bishops of the new learning and maintainers of the opinions of Luther and Tyndale.[22] Clearly, when the old duke of Norfolk exclaimed in 1541, "It was a merry England before this new learning came up",[23] he was not referring to the scholarly innovations of a few classical dons at Oxford and Cambridge.

How long did the term *new learning* continue in popular usage as an opprobrious synonym for Lutheranism? It would be rash indeed to cite any occurrence of the phrase as the "last". I can only say that I have seldom encountered it in the latter part of the century. My guess is that it went underground after the "Protestant religion" was by law established in the Elizabethan settlement. Roger Ascham, writing in 1565, uses the phrase in a way which suggests that it was by then old-fashioned, perhaps forgotten. He is speaking of his old teacher, Dr. Nicholas Metcalfe, master of St. John's College, Cambridge, when Ascham was a student there in the 1530's:

[18] Sig. A iiii[r].

[19] *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII*, vol. VII, No. 1608.

[20] *Ibid.*, vol. IX, No. 1059.

[21] *Ibid.*, vol. IX, No. 846.

[22] *Ibid.*, vol. XII, Nos. 6, 900, 901.

[23] *Ibid.*, vol. XVI, No. 101.

He was a Papist in deede, but would to God, amonges all vs Protestāts I might once but see but one, that would winne like praise, in doing like good, for the aduauncement of learning and vertue. And yet, though he were a Papist, if any yong man, geuen to new learning (as they termed it) went beyond his fellowes, in witte, labor, and towardnes, euen the same, neyther lacked, open praise to encorage him, nor priuate exhibition to mainteyne hym. . . .[24]

That Ascham here uses *new learning* to signify Lutheranism is clear from the paragraph which follows. As a new-fledged B.A. (this would have been in 1534), Ascham had spoken against the pope. Yet Metcalfe, a papist, impressed by Ascham's talents, had forgiven his religious aberrations and helped him to a fellowship.

If Tudor scholars did not speak of the revival of classical learning as the "new learning", what then did they call it? When they wrote in Latin they followed the general usage of European scholars; the Latin and Greek classics were *litterae humaniores* or *litterae bonae.* When they wrote in English, they did not, as nearly as I can discover, employ any distinctive term. Occasionally in *The boke named the Gouernour* and *The Scholemaster,* Elyot and Ascham seem to use the term *learning,* unadjectived, in opposition to the "old sophistry", but they do not do so consistently; just as often *learning* refers to studies in general, mathematics and the sciences as well as literature. Some writers speak of *good learning* or *sound learning,* obviously opposing these terms to the medieval curriculum.[25] But here again the usage is inconsistent. Apparently Tudor writers never developed any term to designate the revival of classical learning in the precise and definite way in which *new learning* designated the new religion.

When, in English usage, did the New Learning come to mean the revival of classical studies? Here again I am on uncertain ground, since I obviously have not read through the whole body of English writings of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. I can only report that the earliest instance which has come to my attention is in Dr. Samuel Johnson's memoir of Roger Ascham, prefixed to an edition of Ascham's English works published in 1761.[26] Two sentences are pertinent:

New studies of literature, and new tenets of religion, found employment for all who were desirous of truth, or ambitious of fame. . . . Those who were

[24] *Roger Ascham, English Works,* ed. William Aldis Wright (Cambridge, 1904), 279.
[25] *Ibid.,* 281, for a characteristic passage.
[26] I feel sure that there are earlier examples. But at any rate, this one is a century earlier than the earliest cited in the *NED,* which is from Green's *Short History of the English People.* In spite of this date the *NED* gives the revival of classical studies as the primary meaning of *new learning,* although its citation for the earlier meaning is from Latimer.

zealous for the new learning, were often no great friends of the old religion; and Ascham, as he became a Grecian, became a Protestant.[27]

For a century after Johnson, however, this usage of the term seems to have found no general acceptance. It does not occur in works where one might expect to find it if it had come into general use—for example in Warton's *History of English Poetry* (1774–81) or in Hallam's *Introduction to the Literature of Europe* (1837–39). But it does occur occasionally. In 1842, for instance, Canon Corrie, annotating a passage on the "new learning" (i.e., the reformed religion) in one of Latimer's sermons, assured his readers that the term originally signified the revival of classical learning but had come to be used carelessly to mean the doctrines of Luther.[28]

I hazard the guess that the now general usage of "New Learning" by literary scholars is traceable to two extremely influential books—Frederic Seebohm's *The Oxford Reformers* (1867) and John Richard Green's *A Short History of the English People* (1874). Seebohm gave to an important section of his book the title "The Rise of the New Learning, 1453–92"; Green headed a section of his work "The New Learning, 1509–1520". In both books the New Learning referred to was the revival of classical learning. Neither Seebohm nor Green seems to have been aware of the original meaning of the phrase. Both books went through numerous editions; both were finally honored by inclusion in the Everyman's Library series. By them, I suspect, the most common modern sense of the term New Learning was popularized.

Words and phrases assume the meanings imposed upon them by the users of the language. It would be folly for me to urge that students of the English Renaissance restrict their use of the term "new learning" to its primary sense. As a designation for the classical revival it is too well established and too useful to be abandoned. But perhaps it is not too much to urge that it be used cautiously, with due awareness of the fact that its original meaning was quite different from its generally accepted meaning today. Perhaps we ought to avoid associating it with personages to whom the original new learning was abhorrent—Bishop Fisher, for example, and Sir Thomas More, both martyrs for the old faith. Perhaps we would do well to avoid writing such an ambiguous sentence as the following:

[27] *The Works of Samuel Johnson, LL.D. A New Edition in Twelve Volumes* (London, 1792), XII, 309. These sentences might even suggest that Johnson had misread the passage from Ascham quoted above.

[28] *The Works of Hugh Latimer*, ed. George E. Corrie (Cambridge, The Parker Society, 1844–45), I, 30.

". . . when Wolsey wished to find scholars of the new learning for his college at Oxford (now Christ Church) he was compelled to import some of them from Cambridge; and it was from Cambridge that the majority of the early reformers proceeded."[29] What Wolsey sought was some promising young men of the new scholarship; what he unluckily got was John Frith and some other troublesome young heretics. It is not recorded that Wolsey, when the distressing facts were made known to him, referred to the young dons imported from Cambridge as "new learned fellows". But he might well have done so. He would not have been referring to their attainments as classical scholars.

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[29] R. M. and A. J. Carlyle, *Hugh Latimer* (London, 1899), 9.

# The Teachings of Classical Puritanism on Conjugal Love

Many of the old clichés about Puritanism have been dispelled by the researches of such eminent modern scholars as Haller, Knappen, and Miller, so that we are now more likely to understand the Puritans than were our less well-informed predecessors. Certain areas of misconception and uncertainty still remain, however, and the function of this paper is to explore one of these areas, namely, the teachings of classical Puritanism on physical love in marriage. Although judgments have aleady been pronounced by scholars on this subject —judgments which are both varied and conflicting[1]—there has, as yet, been available no study which provides detailed and conclusive documentation of the Puritan teaching on the physical relations of

[1] In his valuable studies of the Puritan view of marriage, William Haller treats Puritanism as sexually non-ascetic, but he does not nail down this conception by detailed documentation ("Hail Wedded Love," *ELH,* xiii, 86, and "The Puritan Art of Love," *Huntington Library Quarterly,* v, 235–72). Edmund S. Morgan also regards the Puritans as non-ascetic in their attitudes towards conjugal love. In his instructive work on New England Puritanism, where the documentation is valuable but unfortunately restricted by the natural limits of the subject, he concludes that the Puritans' reputation for asceticism is unjustified in view of their own attitudes but suggests that it may be explained by reference to some of their modern descendants (*The Puritan Family . . . in Seventeenth Century New England,* Boston, 1944, p. 26).

A different conception seems to underlie the discussion by Louis B. Wright when he says that only a few among the Elizabethan middle-class (he is not specifically discussing the Puritans) recognized that "marriage had a fundamental sexual basis" (*Middle-Class Culture in Elizabethan England,* Chapel Hill, 1935, p. 220). M. M. Knappen opens his rather cursory treatment of domestic life in *Tudor Puritanism* (Chicago, 1939, pp. 451–65) with the admission that his general thesis (Puritanism's conservation of the medieval Catholic attitudes) breaks down on this point of Puritan theories of marriage, but he proceeds to develop throughout a large part of this chapter the theme of Puritan suspicion of sex. Although Knappen's documentation in this area is relatively slight, his influence is indeed great, and the general impression which he leaves is that the Puritans were scarcely less ascetic than Roman Catholics in their attitudes towards sexual love.

The state of affairs is so confused that a leading medical authority on sexual relations states that even after sustained effort he could find only "partial and fragmentary" reports on the subject, while a distinguished church historian writes of Puritanism in terms of "an inner worldly asceticism" in which "the sexual side of marriage was in so far as possible ignored" and in which "there should be no more enjoyment of sex in marriage than of wine in the sacrament" (Th. H. Van de Velde, *Ideal Marriage,* New York, 1930, p. 319, and Roland H. Bainton, "Christianity and Sex," in *Sex and Religion Today,* ed. Simon Doniger, New York, 1953, pp. 76 and 84).

The division of opinion indicated above can only be resolved by the submission of more evidence. In the present state of the question it is not surprising that there should be the honest indecisiveness indicated in a recent biography of Thomas Becon, where the British scholar Derrick Bailey makes peace with all contenders by saying that "despite changes introduced by the reformers into the concept of Christian marriage, it is often overlooked that protestantism took over, and even exaggerated, certain traditional views of sexual relation", a statement which allows each reader to give full rein to his own imagination (*Thomas Becon and the Reformation,* Edinburgh, 1952, p. 112 n.).

marriage, for even the most useful studies usually skirt the sexual aspects of marriage, or dismiss these aspects with a sentence or two, and but little documentation. My purpose is to provide the needed documentation, and I suggest that the evidence which I submit will conclusively demonstrate classical Puritanism to have inculcated a view of sexual life in marriage as the "Crown of all our bliss", "Founded in Reason, Loyal, Just, and Pure".[2] As for restrictions in time and place, my focus is primarily upon the attitudes of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century classical English Puritanism prior to the civil wars, although for illustrative purposes and in order to give a more complete picture I also refer to the New England Puritanism of the later seventeenth century, and to the writings of John Milton.

The first important Protestant formulation on marriage to be published in English was a translation in 1541 of a work by the influential continental reformer Henry Bullinger entitled *The christen state of matrimonye,* a book which had gone through nine issues or editions by 1575 and which is generally regarded as having established the basis on which the genre of Protestant marriage books would develop. The leadership thus early assumed by Bullinger for Reformed churchmanship was passed on from generation to generation through the hands of native English divines of the Puritan stripe until the period of the revolution, so that whether the leading authority at a particular time be Henry Smith or Robert Cleaver, William Whately or William Gouge, the fact remains that the education of England in a more liberal view of married love in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries was in large part the work of that party within English Protestantism which is called Puritan.

That Queen Elizabeth was not favorable towards clerical marriage is well known. She did not officially approve it until the year after her succession to the throne, and in the meanwhile Archbishop Sandys wrote to Archbishop Parker that "the Queen's majesty will wink at it but not stablish it by law, which is nothing else but to bastard our children". In 1559 Elizabeth grudgingly consented to the marriage of priests, but only under guarded restrictions as to permission, and later forbade the presence of wives within the precincts of any college or cathedral church. Queen Mary had prescribed celibacy as essential for the priestly office and repealed the matrimonial laws of that most "Protestant" of Tudor sovereigns, Edward VI, and according to

[2] *Paradise Lost,* IV, 728, 755.

G. E. Howard it was not until after the Puritans' Millenary Petition to James I that Mary's obstructing ordinance was repealed and that Edward's permissive laws were formally restored in 1603.[3]

Aside from Elizabeth's own position, it would be possible, however, to stress too much the Anglican conservatism as over against Puritan liberalism. I believe that Chilton Powell has fallen into an error here, for he says of the two parties that the supporters of the establishment "although they extolled marriage at great length, took the position that it was a kind of necessary evil for the propagation of the race; the Puritans, on the other hand, regarded it rather as an honorable and natural society of man and woman, of which children were the proper result but not the prime cause". Such an opinion treats the Church of England as far more ascetic than I believe it in fact to have been. I think that Powell has seized upon the greater volubility of the aggressive leaders (Puritans) as compared with the relative quiet of the no less, or but slightly less, convinced followers (Anglicans) and has exaggerated this difference into a major divergence of opinion on the subject of marriage.[4]

However that may be, there can be no doubt that the Puritans regarded physical love in marriage as pure. Much has been made of Milton's praise of virginity in *Comus,* where the Lady relies upon "the sage | And serious doctrine of virginity." But the Reformed doctrine of "virginity" was a broad one and included not merely total abstinence from sexual intercourse but also faithful marriage, of which John Calvin wrote that "the second kind of virginity is the chaste love of matrimony". It was to this broad conception of virginity as including chaste marriage, I suggest, that Milton referred.[5]

Although our concern here is only with the Puritan teachings on physical love, and I do not intend to outline the views which had previously been taught in Christendom, it might be well to point up the Puritan position by setting opposite it certain brief examples of ideals of marriage and virginity illustrative of what Puritans felt, rightly or wrongly, to be the position of the medieval church and of the Church of Rome. Robert Briffault in his exhaustive study *The*

[3] Sandys to Parker, 30 April 1559, in *Correspondence of Matthew Parker,* ed. John Bruce (Cambridge, 1853), p. 66; "The Injunctions of Elizabeth, A. D. 1559," in Henry Gee and William J. Hardy, *Documents Illustrative of English Church History* (London, 1914), p. 431; and George E. Howard, *A History of Matrimonial Institutions* (Chicago and London, 1904), I, 396–98.

[4] Chilton Powell, *English Domestic Relations: 1487–1653* (New York, 1917), pp. 120–21. Powell's statement, however, may apply quite accurately to the emerging Laudian party, with whose views on this subject I am not familiar.

[5] *Comus,* 786–87, and *The Institutes of the Christian Religion,* tr. Thomas Norton, 4. 12. 28, and see also 3. 19. 7–11.

*Mothers* points out that actual life in the middle ages was far from representative of the teachings of the church, but that in the official teachings "the sexual aspects of holiness came to eclipse all other issues, and morality came to mean, what it has ever since connoted in European tradition, sexual purity", while G. E. Howard writes that marriage was accepted "under protest", as it were, and "usually with a tone of apology or depreciation which is itself very suggestive of the pervading trend of the ascetic mind". This tradition was early established and grew in importance. Ambrose said that "married people ought to blush at the state in which they are living", and maintained that to alter the state of virginity in which man was created and into which he was born was to deface the work of the Creator, while according to Jerome it was the prostitution of the members of Christ. Origen castrated himself, while Clement of Alexandria said that "every woman ought to be filled with shame at the thought that she is a woman". Briffault summarizes the developments as follows:

> Bishop Gregory of Nyssa held that Adam and Eve had at first been created sexless, and that the phrase "male and female created He them" referred to a subsequent act necessitated by Adam's disobedience; had not this taken place the human race would have been propagated by some harmless mode of vegetation. The view was endorsed by John of Damascus. The logical consequences of the advocacy of virginity were faced without hesitation; both Ambrose and Tertullian declared that the extinction of the human race was preferable to its propagation by sexual intercourse.[6]

The widespread medieval idealization of virginity is the continuation of these and similar views, and sacerdotal celibacy was understood by the Puritans to mean that marriage was involved in lust, even when celibacy was presented by Rome as being an expedient for maintaining single-minded devotion. To be sure the "vegetative" theory of generation in Eden was denied and refuted, as by Thomas Aquinas, who repeatedly emphasized that virginity is praiseworthy as a virtue only when it is dedicated to God in order to provide leisure for divine contemplation, and who clearly exhibits a healthy respect for marriage, while church councils repeatedly emphasized the dignity of marriage. There is ambivalence here, and it is not the con-

[6] For Howard, see *Matrimonial Institutions*, I, 325. For the sexual mores of medieval society, see Robert Briffault, *The Mothers* (New York, 1927), III, 413–19, for example, and for the development of ascetic teachings see *ibid.*, 372–75, the long quotation being from 373–74. An interesting and instructive survey of the medieval developments is to be found in Roland H. Bainton, "Christianity and Sex," in *Sex and Religion Today*, ed. Simon Doniger (New York, 1953), pp. 30–61.

cern of this paper to present a coherent view of the medieval or later Roman teachings on physical love. Whatever the fully developed position of Rome or of Aquinas may have been, however, we find classical Puritanism denying both the high view of virginity and the concupiscent view of married intercourse implicit in Thomas' reference to virginity as "unseared by the heat of concupiscence which is experienced in achieving the greatest bodily pleasure which is that of sexual intercourse".[7]

The extent of the Puritan reaction may be illustrated by contrasting a certain passage from Erasmus' marriage treatise with statements of John Cotton, the great New England divine. Erasmus has a praiseworthy youth describe married love to his fiancée in these striking terms: "How little shall this matrimonie differ frō virginitie? and peraduenture hereafter we shall so liue togither, as blessed Marie liued with Joseph". This "perfection" in marriage was obviously abstinence from sexual intercourse, which abstinence was to be arrived at "euen as by drinking of wine moderately, we shall learn by little and by little to forbeare wine vtterlye", a description which is in some ways reminiscent of Thomas Aquinas, who praises "the continence of the married state" in terms of a definition of continence as withdrawal from both lawful and unlawful desires. In the course of a wide reading of Puritan and other Protestant writers in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, I have found nothing but opposition to this type of ascetic "perfection". The most striking example of the Puritan rejection of this abstemious ideal is found in a marriage sermon preached by John Cotton in which Cotton recalls a story of lovers who are surprisingly like those in Erasmus' treatise, to which he may be referring. Cotton recalls

> one who immediately upon Marriage, without even approaching the *Nuptial Bed,* indented with the *Bride,* that by mutual consent they might both live such a life, and accordingly did sequestring themselves according to the custom of those times, from the rest of mankind, and afterwards from one another too, in their retired Cells, giving themselves up to a Contemplative life; and this is recorded as an Instance of no little or ordinary Vertue; but I must be pardoned in it, if I can account it no other than an effort of blind zeal, for they are the dictates of a blind mind they follow therein, and not of that Holy Spirit, which saith *It is not good that man should be alone.*[8]

[7] The quotation is from the *Summa Theologica,* II, ii, Q. 152, Art. 1, with other references to Art. 2, 3, and 5, and to I, Q. 98, Art. 2.

[8] Erasmus, *Modest means to marriage,* tr. N. L[eigh?] (London, 1568), B7, and Aquinas, *Summa Theologica,* II, i, Q. 70, Art. 3. Cotton is quoted in Edmund S. Morgan, *The Puritan Family . . . in Seventeenth-Century New England* (Boston, 1944), pp. 26–7. For another

This comment by the great New Englander Cotton, set here directly after the ideal stated by the great Roman Catholic Erasmus, clearly indicates the chasm separating the Puritan ideal from the type of asceticism which it felt itself to be repudiating and replacing.

Thus the influential Reformed churchman Henry Bullinger had written that in married life couples "please God no less than they do when they go to church to hear the word of God and to worship the Lord . . . for by wedlock in faith they shall please the Lord. This our [Romish] monks could not abide to hear of, although the word of God doth urge it upon them; they ceased not to magnify their counterfeit holiness and hypocritical vows."[9] Harking back to the testimony of the early church, Bullinger quotes one of the Nicene bishops to the effect that "the lying of a man with his own wife is chastity", and declares that "God hath and doth allow the embracings of man and wife in holy wedlock". He further cites the much cited third, fourth, and fifth verses of the seventh chapter of 1 Corinthians where the Apostle Paul indicates the right of wife and husband to "due benevolence" in the wedding bed, and adds that neither partner can deprive the other of such benevolence without mutual consent. Indeed, each partner is obligated to fulfill the desires of the other.[10] Typical of sixteenth- as of seventeenth-century Puritanism, the famous divine William Gouge quoted in a familiar Protestant connection the eighteenth and nineteenth verses of the fifth chapter of Proverbs—"Let thy fountain be blessed, and rejoice with the wife of thy youth. Let her be as the loving hind and pleasant roe; let her breasts satisfy thee at all times, and be thou ravished always with her love." Gouge proceeds to gloss this passage in reference to married love by saying that the hind and the roe were chosen because of all beasts they were the most enamoured of their mates "and even mad againe in their heat and desire after them".[11] Gouge and others also refer to the Song of Songs as providing profitable instruction in perfect married love.[12] From such treatments, it should be apparent that for the Puritans conjugal love could not consist merely in spiritual

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interesting contrast between specifically Roman and Puritan points of view, compare the statement by Archbishop Herman of Cologne (*A brefe and playne declaratyon of the dewty of maried folkes,* tr. H. Dekyn, London, [1553?], B6$^{v}$–B7) that for a husband his children should stand next before God in his affection and joy, with Puritan William Whately's denial of this position and declaration that the wife should so stand (*A bride-bush,* London, 1619, p. 38).

[9] Henry Bullinger, *The Decades,* tr. H. I. (Cambridge, 1849–52), I, 406.

[10] *Ibid.,* 401, 420, 401.

[11] William Gouge, *Of domesticall duties* (London, 1634), p. 365.

[12] *Ibid.,* p. 366.

affection; nor, of course, could it be merely physical attraction. In the words of the Rev. Daniel Rogers, it was rather "a sweete compounde of both, religion and nature".[13] And for this happiness "beyond all other earthly blessings"[14] man and wife should continually give thanks to God in prayer.[15]

Another favorite Biblical passage cited by Puritan churchmen is Genesis xxvi.8 where it is recorded that "Isaac was sporting with Rebekah his wife". A typical employment of this passage is that made by William Gouge, who uses it for an attack upon Stoical abstinence —"A disposition", says the Puritan Gouge, "no way warranted by the Word".[16] Thomas Gataker provides a final and summarizing statement of Puritanism's anti-asceticism in a marriage sermon published in 1620. Gataker is discussing the Christian life, with particular reference to marriage, and observes that it is a tactic of the demonic to misrepresent Christianity as a damper placed upon the joys of living; in other words, to misrepresent it as opposed to human happiness. This false picture of Christianity, says the Puritan Gataker, is "an illusion of Sathan, whereby he vsually perswades the merry Greekes of the world; That if they should once devote themselues to the Seruice of Iesus Christ, that then they must bid an euerlasting farewell to all mirth and delight; that then all their merry dayes are gone; that in the kingdome of Christ, there is nothing, but sighing and groning, and fasting and prayer. But see here the contrary: euen in the kingdome of Christ, and in his House, there is marrying and giuing in mariage, drinking of wine, feasting, and rejoycing euen in the very face of Christ."[17]

Gataker is typical here. Indeed, in this matter of the purity of physical love in marriage, Puritan leaders were as diligent in extirpating what they thought to be the weeds of Rome as in any other area of faith or of life. Thus Bullinger, after devoting considerable attention to the purity of married love, makes an interesting statement that he has done "all this to helpe many snared cōsciences, which without

[13] Quoted in William Haller, "The Puritan Art of Love", *Huntington Library Quarterly*, v, 264.

[14] John Wing, *The crowne conjugall* (Middelburgh, 1620), p. 19.

[15] William Whately, *A bride-bush* (London, 1619), pp. 16 and 51. See also Thomas Becon quoted by Powell, p. 127. Note, too, that in her attack upon lust in *Comus*, the Lady links it with "base ingratitude" and blasphemy (776–79), a point which will also have relevance to the treatment, below, of lust as idolatry.

[16] Gouge, 366. Note also Robert Crofts' attack upon those who are so "Stoicall and Rigid, as they will scarce allow moderate and lawful Recreations . . . . [and] esteeme honest, and harmlesse Love sports, pleasures, and discourses (though in the way of marriage) profanenesse" (*The lover, or nuptiall love*, London, 1638, C6–C6$^{v}$). I have no definite evidence for Crofts' position, but suspect him of having been Puritan.

[17] Thomas Gataker and William Bradshaw, *Two marriage sermons* (London, 1620), p. 14.

occasiō thorow the ignoraunce of gods loue and lawe do piteouslye trouble and vexe themselues here in".[18] In this way the Puritans attacked asceticism just as they understood the Apostle Paul to have attacked "certayne of the Corinthians" for a "speciall chosen holynesse and false fayned clenlynesse" by which "the worke of matrymonye" had been "vtterlye denyed vnto theyse maried spouses".[19] Recalling for a moment Erasmus' reference to marriage as differing but slightly from virginity and as being perfected in abstinence, it is instructive to note that the great Elizabethan Puritan Henry Smith points to 1 Corinthians vii.3 as "a commandement to yeeld this duety [sexual intercourse]: that which is commanded, is lawfull; and not to doe it, is a breach of the commandement"[20] and William Whately declares that neither husband nor wife can "without grieuous sinne deny it" when the other wishes intercourse and Gouge refers to physical union as "one of the most proper and essentiall acts of mariage".[21] Whately at times even seems to legislate love, as when he says that unless both of the marriage partners love each other "with an ardent love", they "cannot but be damned", and admonishes that they must not "yeeld themselues with grudging and frowardnesse, but readily, and with all demonstrations of heartie affection".[22] So thoroughly had Puritan society been permeated by such ideas that in 1666, a certain Edmund Pinson complained to the Massachusetts Middlesex County Court because Richard Dexter had slandered him by saying that he had broken his wife's heart with grief because "that he wold be absent from her 3 weeks together when he was at home, and wold never come nere her, and such Like".[23]

It should be clear by now that early Puritanism consciously taught the purity, legality, and even obligation of physical love in marriage, "Whose Bed is undefil'd and chast pronounc't", as Milton wrote in his great marriage hymn,[24] or, as the anonymous *Office of Christian parents* puts it, two who are made one by marriage "may ioyfully giue due beneuolence one to the other; as two musicall instruments

[18] Henry Bullinger, *The christen state of matrimonye* (London, 1543), E7ᵛ.

[19] *Ibid.*, E6. See also Whately, p. 16.

[20] Henry Smith, *A preparatiue to marriage* (London: T. Orwin for T. Man, 1591), p. 23.

[21] Whately, p. 14, and Gouge, p. 224.

[22] Whately, pp. 45 and 24. The same general points are made by the New England Puritans as, for example, when Benjamin Wadsworth teaches married couples that "out of Conscience to God" they must study and strive "to please, gratifie and oblige one another" with "very great affection" and when he warns them not to live apart from each other "for if it once comes to this, Satan has got a great advantage against you, and tis to be fear'd he'l get a greater" (quoted by Morgan, pp. 12 and 27).

[23] Quoted by Morgan, p. 27.

[24] *Paradise Lost*, IV, 761.

rightly fitted, doe make a most pleasant and sweet harmonie in a well tuned consort".[25] Having thus established that physical love in marriage was regarded as naturally pure and pleasing to God, we must now turn to examples of married love which polluted the ideal, or to what we may describe as exceptions to the general rule. The first of these exceptions is a practical matter and has to do with the public conduct of husband and wife, who are not to engage in such open dalliance and love-making as may inflame the desires of others. Gouge describes this conduct when he criticizes those married couples who are "ever colling, kissing, and dallying . . . , they care not in what company; thus they shew more lightness, fondnesse, dotage, then true kindnesse and love". Such a warning against public displays of love-making as a matter of practical conduct in no way denies Gouge's assurance that "an husbands affection to his wife cannot be too great", for between themselves they may even seem to dote,[26] while Gataker also underscores the fact that "the holy Ghost did allow some such priuate daliance and behauiour to married persons between themselues as to others might seeme dotage".[27] The point was to avoid the public display even of pure love-making so as to avoid the arousing in others of lustful desires.

The Puritans' most urgent caveat is directed against lust in marriage. It is a prime necessity that we understand why the Puritans attacked lust in marriage, and what they meant by it. In general, their fear was of an immoderate love, whose very violence precluded it from maintaining the stability necessary for the marriage relationship, and whose intensity of attachment was likely to burn itself out and die. According to Whately, such immoderate attachment "will either bee blowne downe by some storme or tempest of displeasure, or fall of it selfe, or else degenerate into ielousie, the most deuouring and fretting canker that can harbour in a married persons brest".[28] Alexander Niccholes points out that marriage will either "make a short heauen or hell in this world", and declares that entering upon it "meerely for lust" will convert it into a "curse instead of blessing". Later in the same treatment, Niccholes draws a clear and typical distinction between sinful lust on the one hand and a pure and ardent love on the other. "Lust is more spacious" than love, Niccholes writes.

[25] *The office of Christian parents* (Cambridge, 1616), p. 140.

[26] Gouge, pp. 392–93 and 365–66.

[27] Thomas Gataker, *Marriage duties briefely couched togither; out of Colossians 3.18,19* (London, 1620), p. 43.

[28] Whately, *A bride-bush* (1617 ed.), p. 7. This is the only reference to the 1617 edition, all others being to the 1619 edition, as cited in fn. 15.

It "hath no meane, no bound, but not to be at all, more deepe, more dangerous then the Sea, and lesse restrained, for the Sea hath bounds, but it [lust] hath none".[29] It is apparent from this description that lust could never serve as a stable basis for marriage. Indeed, according to Niccholes and his contemporary co-religionists, it was "the chiefe breaker of all [marriages] from eighteene to eighty".[30] Those who choose their husbands and wives "meerely for lust", then, will soon find that they have married in haste only to repent at leisure, or, according to another popular Tudor proverb, that "hot love is soon cold".[31] Lust was not merely evil in itself but the source of many other evils, one of the worst of which was jealousy. Indeed, the opinion appears to have been widespread that jealousy might spring from a lustful, fond, or licentious appetite of the type defined by Niccholes and indicated by Whately, but that it could scarcely arise in "truly louing hearts".[32] Another dangerous fruit of lust was thought to be satiety. As excessive attachment and mercurial passion, lust could be quickly extinguished. Thus we find castigations of those who marry because of a lustful inclination and who, in the words of Robert Cleaver, "after the heat be a little past, will clean change their opinion", with special rebuke directed against the "husband that loueth not his wife after that he hath enioied her for a season, but doth wax feeble & cold".[33] Another commonplace has it that lust, like "fire that is kindled in the stubble, is soone put out", while Daniel Rogers refers to lust in terms of a gunpowder flash and Cleaver writes that it "resembleth onely a fire of straw, which is but a blaze, and is soone out".[34] Thus can lust change "a short delectation and pleasure, into a continuall sorrow and repentance", as Cleaver puts it.[35] The sinfulness of lust, then, is that it perverts the natural goodness and perfection which God established and intends for marriage. Lust in short is no stable ground on which to build a permanent love. Indeed, it may destroy a marriage which should bring "a kinde of *Heauen vpon Earth",* in the words of Thomas Gataker, and produce instead "a

[29] Alexander Niccholes, *A discourse of marriage and wiving* (London, 1620), pp. 8, 7, and 32.

[30] *Ibid.*, p. 30.

[31] *Ibid.*, pp. 7–9, and John C. Jeaffreson, *Brides and Bridals* (London, 1873), I, 354.

[32] See also Thomas Becon, *Prayers and Other Pieces* (Cambridge, 1844), p. 612.

[33] R[obert] C[leaver], *A godly form of householde government* (London: F. Kingston for T. Man, 1598), p. 179. See also the anonymous *Discourse of the maried and single life* (London, 1621), p. 46.

[34] Cleaver, p. 191; and D[aniel] R[ogers], *Matrimoniall honour* (London, 1642), pp. 334–35.

[35] Cleaver, pp. 151–52.

kinde of *Hell* here *out* of *Hell*",[36] a situation strikingly like that of Milton's Adam and Eve after their lustful post-lapsarian orgy.

This treatment of lust brings us to the question of that which is truly humane. The classical Puritan regarded true humanity as being rooted in divinity, as being the mark of the image of God. Man as a creature could exist in a state of "humanness" only by living in obedience to the will of God. Man's humanity, then, consisted in his living according to the divine plan, in his existential expression of God's will rather than of self-will. To assign prior importance, before God, to anything under God was idolatry. Thus, some sins—even though without any apparent iconolatrous connection—were idolatrous, and among these Ephesians v.5 and Colossians iii.5 list the characteristic sins of lust.[37] We have already seen lust defined as that immoderate passion of all or nothing at all, which when satisfied would either vanish like fire in the stubble, or would linger on in some such perversion as jealousy. In either case, lust so defined fits the early Protestant understanding of idolatry as "the immoderate love unto, and distrustfull care for the things of this world".[38] If we can now join together these two seemingly separate sins, we will arrive at the central Puritan understanding of the dangers of lust in marriage. Thus, the Puritan warnings were *not* concerned with any sin involved in physical love itself—a point which should be abundantly clear by now. Two things were feared: lust as unstable sexual foundation for marriage in this world, and lust as idolatrous preventive of happiness in the world to come. That early dean of English Puritan preachers, Henry Smith, warns that "man must take heed that his loue toward his wife, be not greater than his loue toward God, as *Adams* and *Sampsons* were",[39] a warning which was to be carefully repeated by Puritans everywhere. An excellent example is found in the Puritan parish of Westfield, Conn., where the Rev. Edward Taylor, the poet, writes his sweetheart that his passion for her is as "a golden ball of pure fire" and that their "Conjugall love ought to exceed all other", after which Taylor adds the familiar caveat that their love "must be kept within bounds too. For it must be subordinate to Gods Glory."[40] In similar vein, John Winthrop and his much beloved wife Margaret clearly set their primary affec-

[36] Gataker, *A good wife Gods gift* (London, 1623), M3[v].

[37] Note that the anonymous *Lawes resolution of womens rights* (London, 1632), p. 65, refers to adultery as idolatry.

[38] Thomas Wilson, *A christian dictionarie* (London, 1655), s.v. "Idolatry" (p. 303).

[39] Smith, p. 56.

[40] Quoted by Morgan, p. 16.

tions "on heaven wheare all true happyness is for ever", and clearly regard the earthly blessing of marriage as no end in itself but rather as a means to "increase our estimation of our better and onely ever duringe happinesse in heaven". Nonetheless, Winthrop's letters abound in such phrases as "My sweet spouse let us delight in the love of eache other as the chiefe of all earthly comforts", and in such messages as "many kisses of Love I sende thee".[41]

In conclusion, I submit that it should now be apparent that the classical Puritan teachings treated physical love as good and pure in itself, no matter how ardent it might be, while repudiating lust, with lust defined as immoderate, unstable affection and as degrading idolatry. Scholars generally recognize the importance which Puritanism attached to personal and spiritual companionability in marriage; my purpose in this paper has been to indicate the concomitant emphasis which was placed upon the sexual relations of marriage, an emphasis which has been frequently overlooked. The Puritan's experience of conjugal love led him to place it on the highest plane of human felicity, where "Imparadis't in one another's arms", as Milton wrote of Adam and Eve, the married couple must, in Whately's words, "request the Lords good will and blessing, and . . . give him due praises" for this greatest of temporal gifts.[42] The ideal marriage, then, as Puritans in general saw it, may be epitomized in words which Daniel Rogers addresses to newly wedded husbands: "Thy wife shall be a blessing, no snare; thy liberties shall be pure unto thee, and thou shalt visit thine habitation without sinne, as *Iob* speaks; thou shalt drinke of the floods of milke, and butter, and honey".[43] So joined together in a union of purity, husband and wife may hope to find, as Henry Smith tells them, that "Love is the marriage vertue, which singes Musicke to their whole life".[44] Such, classical Puritanism taught, should be the result of personal and spiritual companionability joined to pure and ardent physical love.

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[41] Quoted by Morgan, pp. 16 and 25. See also Whately, p. 38; Gataker, *A good wife*, M3[v]; Wing, p. 21; and Smith, pp. 111–12.
[42] *Paradise Lost*, IV, 506, and Whately, p. 16.
[43] Rogers, p. 19. See also *Paradise Lost*, IV, 720–75.
[44] Quoted by Haller in "The Puritan Art of Love", p. 258.

# Marino and the English Metaphysicals

In their attempts to define the poetic style of John Donne and his followers, twentieth-century critics have often considered its relationship to analogous movements in the continental literatures. They have seen in the common love of paradox and in the common use of far-fetched metaphors, or conceits, links which unite Donne and the other English metaphysical poets to Marino and his followers in Italy and to Góngora and his followers in Spain. Credit for the original insight connecting Donne and Marino, as is so often the case with original insights, must go to Dr. Johnson, who in the famous passage on the metaphysical poets in his "Life of Cowley" suggested that the metaphysical style was "borrowed from Marino and his followers".[1] The first detailed consideration of metaphysical poetry from this point of view was made by Sir Edmund Gosse, more than a century later: "Nor was this tendency to imaginative extravagance confined to England; it invaded all parts of Europe at the same moment, and in a manner so simultaneous as to baffle the literary historian. Three remarkable writers—Marini [sic], Góngora, Donne—started this analytic and hyperbolic style at the same time and it is very difficult to say whether either of the three was affected by the practices of the others."[2]

Gosse went on to modify his statement in terms which, though imprecise, have a significant bearing on any comparison of *marinismo* and metaphysical poetry: "the likeness between Donne and Marini is, on the other hand, very superficial, and grows less and less definite the more narrowly we examine it".[3] His observation is a just one; any sequential reading of Donne and Marino reveals differences in technique and vision which are as striking as the similarities, and in some ways more striking. There can be no doubt that poetic expression in the period between the High Renaissance and the neo-classical era showed a certain consistency, but an actual comparison of seventeenth-century poetic texts leads one to regard with a certain caution the recent postulate of a general European baroque style in literature, a style to which belong not only *marinismo, góngorismo,* and "metaphysical poetry", but also, to some degree, Euphuism and *préciosité*.[4]

[1] Samuel Johnson, *Lives of the English Poets,* ed. L. Archer-Hind (London, 1925), I, 13.
[2] Edmund Gosse, *The Life and Letters of John Donne* (New York, 1899), II, 342.
[3] *Ibid.,* II, 344.
[4] For the presentation of such a position, see Mario Praz, *La Poesia Metafisica Inglese del Seicento: John Donne* (Rome, 1945), pp. 5–17.

One may compare, for example, two poems in which Marino and Donne deal with approximately the same material—Marino's *canzone* "L'amore incostante" and Donne's "The Indifferent". Marino begins by boasting to a friend of the wide scope of his amorous propensities:

> Chi vuol veder, Marcello,
> Proteo d'amor novello,
> novel camaleonte,
> a me giri la fronte,
> ch'ognor pensier volgendo,
> forme diverse e color vari apprendo.[5]

Two aspects of his imagery are immediately worthy of note: mythological reference and a kind of Euphuistic natural history. He proceeds, after a frank confession of his "fallo amoroso", to a long and loving catalogue of 132 lines of description of the various types of female beauty to which he is vulnerable, supplementing his description, in the last line, with a casual paradox unrelated to the rest of the poem (p. 56):

> Usi fregiarsi: i fregi
> chi fia che non appregi?
> Vada inculta e sprezzata,
> sol di se stessa adorna:
> quella schiettezza adoro,
> quella sua povertate è mio tesoro.

He concludes on the note with which he began (p. 58):

> Marcello, or, s'avess'io
> mill'alme e mille cori,
> sarei nido capace a tanti amori?

Donne condenses into the nine lines of his first stanza all the types of beauty which he thinks it necessary to mention:

> I can love both fair and brown,
> Her whom abundance melts, and her whom want betrays,
> Her who loves loneness best, and her who masks and plays,
> Her whom the country form'd, and whom the town. . . .
> I can love her, and her, and you, and you;
> I can love any, so she be not true.[6]

The abrupt last phrase indicates the direction of the poem. The catalogue is used for a purpose other than to display woman's beauty

[5] G. B. Marino, *Poesie Varie,* ed. Benedetto Croce (Bari, 1913), p. 55.
[6] John Donne, *Complete Poems,* ed. R. E. Bennett (Chicago, 1942), p. 6.

and the poet's amorousness; it introduces a paradoxical judgment on the nature of love and life. It is particularly interesting to see the way in which the assumptions accepted quite simply by Marino are wholeheartedly subverted by Donne. Marino's confession of his amorous fault implies an admission, complacent enough, that he is a "heretic in love" in his lack of constancy. Donne's entire poem centers around the paradox that those who are constant are heretical. In the last stanza he introduces Venus, one of the few Greek deities allowed in his poetry,[7] to support his position:

> Venus heard me sigh this song,
> And by love's sweetest part, variety, she swore
> She heard not this till now, and that it should be so no more.
> She went, examin'd, and return'd ere long,
> And said, "Alas, some two or three
> Poor heretics in love there be,
> Which think to 'stablish dangerous constancy,
> But I have told them, 'Since you will be true,
> You shall be true to them who're false to you.' "

The attitude toward paradox epitomizes clearly enough the difference between Marino and Donne. Marino's paradoxes are verbal, ornamental, incidental (e.g. "quella sua povertate è mio tesoro"); Donne's paradox is the very substance of his poem: inconstancy is the condition of love.

Neither of the poems discussed shows the type of imagery which is usually cited as the major point of similarity between the two poets, but a comparison of poems which utilize the characteristic conceit reveal differences of the same order and of almost the same scope.

In "La bruna pastorella" Marino compares Lilla's black complexion to the ink in which Love writes the sentence of the poet's "sweet and fortunate death".

> Quel notturno colore
> scolora l'alba e move invidia al giorno;
> quel vostro smalto oscuro
> al zaffiro fa scorno, ingiuria a l'oro;
> quel brun, quel negro vostro
> è puro e vivo inchiostro,

[7] Thomas Carew, in his elegy on the death of Donne, comments on that poet's banishment of the classical deities from his poetry: *Poems,* ed. Rhodes Dunlap (Oxford, 1949), p. 73.

onde con l'aureo strale
scrive Amor la sentenza
de la mia dolce e fortunata morte.[8]

The metaphor, in its mundane source as in its far-fetched application, seems typically "metaphysical", and suggests comparison with Donne's technique. The second stanza of "The Broken Heart", for example, supplies a series of comparable metaphors:

Ah, what a trifle is a heart
If once into Love's hands it come!
All other griefs allow a part
To other griefs, and ask themselves but some;
They come to us, but us Love draws;
He swallows us and never chaws;
By him, as by chain'd shot, whole ranks do die;
He is the tyrant pike, our hearts the fry.[9]

But the treatment given the metaphor indicates the difference between the two poets. Marino's lines describe the girl's beauty and express the speaker's passion, by a series of images which are unrelated except as they are derived from blackness; her "nocturnal color" "discolors the dawn and moves the day to envy"; her "dark cement" makes gold worthless by comparison. The ink figure surpasses these in ingenuity and development, but its function is no more important and no more central to the poem. Donne's metaphorical description of love as "chain'd shot" and as "the tyrant pike", on the other hand, is relevant to the poem's intellectual theme—love as a destructive force. The metaphors take their origin in an intellectual observation rather than, like Marino's, in a physical observation. Their relation to the whole poem is logical rather than tangential.

It may be argued that the difference in the metaphors of the two passages results from the fact that Marino's lines are descriptive in purpose whereas Donne's are expository. But this difference in aim is surely significant in itself. Physical description of a woman's beauty is almost impossible to find in Donne's work (with the exception of an occasional raucous *jeu d'esprit* such as "The Comparison"), but it is the fundamental source as it is the basic technique of all Marino's poetic activity. A poet's mode of vision is as much a part of his style as is his conception of metaphor; indeed, the two interpenetrate and

[8] Marino, *Poesie*, p. 14.
[9] Donne, p. 32.

modify each other to such an extent that it is neither possible nor wise to separate them.

To what degree, then, do Marino and Donne express the same sensibility, and to what degree is the dominant influence of Donne on the other English metaphysical poets qualified by any of the characteristics of Marino's poetry? Joseph A. Mazzeo, in several recent articles, has argued that *marinismo* and metaphysical poetry share a common poetic, which he calls the "poetic of correspondences".[10] According to his view, the habit, shared by Marino, Donne, and other poets of the seventeenth century, of using metaphors which are drawn from total human experience and which are applied with imaginative license, reflects, in poetic terms, an attitude which sees the entire created universe as a system of analogies, common manifestations of a transcendent unity. He goes on to formulate a poetic drawn from the writings of Gracián, Tesauro, and other seventeenth-century theorists, pointing out, however, that "Two conceptions of metaphor, and therefore two poetics, existed side by side in the work of our theorists" and that "One of the poetics, the one built on metaphor as ornament, is negative; the other, which I call the 'poetic of correspondences,' is positive".[11]

It is likely that the metaphysical poets and the *marinisti* shared a common poetic, but this fact in itself is not sufficient to indicate that they share a common poetic style. Mazzeo properly calls in question the popular identification of the metaphysical style in poetry with the baroque style in the plastic arts, and draws a distinction between "concettismo" (the metaphysical style) and the baroque. But he errs, I believe, in continuing to associate Marino with Donne as an adherent to the former style. For surely those very qualities which separate Marino's poetry from Donne's are qualities which unite the Italian poet to the baroque, with its ornamental and expansive tendencies. And Marino's poetic practice seems to reflect, consistently, the conception of metaphor as ornament. Possibly the distinction should be drawn between the English metaphysicals (with perhaps the Dutch Constantijn Huygens and the German Paul Fleming) on the one hand and the practitioners of the baroque style, including the Italian *concettisti,* on the other. A detailed examination of the actual influence of Marino on the followers of Donne may help us determine the validity of the suggested distinction.

[10] "A Seventeenth-Century Theory of Metaphysical Poetry", *RR,* XLII (1951), 245–255; "A Critique of Some Modern Theories of Metaphysical Poetry", *MP,* L (1952), 88–96; "Metaphysical Poetry and the Poetic of Correspondence", *JHI,* XIV (1953), 221–234.

[11] Mazzeo, "Metaphysical Poetry and the Poetic of Correspondence," p. 232.

The English poets of the seventeenth century have left us a good many aids to the work of comparison in the shape of translations and paraphrases from Marino—whose reputation in England, as everywhere else in Europe, was tremendous.[12] In looking for evidences of Marino's direct influence, we are first struck by the fact that English admiration for Marino was not confined to the metaphysicals. Both Samuel Daniel and William Drummond of Hawthornden paid him the tribute of imitation, and Drummond seems to have looked on Marino's *concetti* with favor, a fact which may be significant when we remember his clearly stated distaste for the English metaphysicals.[13] The following madrigal by Drummond, imitated directly from Marino, shows none of the characteristics of the English metaphysical style:

> In peticote of Greene,
> Her Haire about her Eine,
> Phillis beneath an Oake
> Sate milking her faire Flocke:
> Among that strained moysture (rare Delight)
> Her Hand seem'd Milke in Milke, it was so white.[14]

Ruth C. Wallerstein, in an article on Drummond's translations, contends that this translation from Marino adds to the original a quality of "simple realism" which improves it.[15] Although it is true

[12] Gosse, II, 343, is mistaken in his statement that "Until the *Adone* was published [1623], the peculiar talent of Marini was hardly perceived outside Naples and Spain". English imitations alone indicate that Marino attained a European popularity with the first publication of the *Rime* in 1602.

[13] Drummond's adverse judgment, one of the few surviving contemporaneous statements about metaphysical poetry, occurs in a letter to Arthur Johnston written some time before 1637, quoted by Ruth C. Wallerstein, *Studies in Seventeenth Century Poetic* (Univ. of Wisconsin, 1950), p. 26. The document, which contains perhaps the earliest application of the term "metaphysical" to the poetry of Donne's school, suggests that Drummond's distaste was aroused more by the obscurity and intellectuality of the poetry than by the nature of its metaphors: "In vain have some men of late, transformers of everything, consulted upon her [poetry's] reformation, and endeavored to abstract her to metaphysical ideas and scholastical quiddities, denuding her of her own habits and those ornaments with which she hath amused the world some thousand years. . . . Neither do I think *that* a good piece of poesy which Homer, Virgil, Ovid, Petrarch, Ronsard, Boscan, Garcillaso, if they were alive and had that language, could not understand, and reach the sense of the writer."

[14] William Drummond, *Poetical Works*, ed. L. E. Kastner (Manchester, 1913), I, 106. Marino's original (*Poesie*, p. 70) follows:

> Mentre Lidia premea
> dentro rustica coppa
> a la lanuta la feconda poppa,
> i' stava a rimirar doppio candore,
> di natura e d'amore;
> ne distinguer sapea
> il bianco umor da le sue mani intatte,
> ch'altro non discernea che latte in latte.

[15] Ruth C. Wallerstein, "The Style of Drummond of Hawthornden in its Relation to his Translations," *PMLA*, XLVIII (1933), 1102.

that Drummond's warmer diction and more homely imagination humanize Marino's frigid pastoral, the climactic figure remains a true example of continental baroque style. Miss Wallerstein points out that "Marino abounds in figure; and what one notices first in the Drummond poems from Marino is Drummond's delight in these figures. In several cases it is just the curious figure that he takes."[16]

The generally competent use which Drummond, an heir of Sidney and Spenser, makes of Marinistic elements contrasts with the first "metaphysical" attempts to borrow from Marino. Lord Herbert of Cherbury, chronologically the first of Donne's disciples,[17] wrote two poems paraphrased from Marino and several others which are clearly inspired by him. Only one of them is in any way successful.

"A Description" is one of Herbert's longest poems, but one of his least fortunate. It is an exhaustive catalogue of a woman's beauties, proceeding from a consideration of her brow, cheek, nose, and chin, through a description of her breasts ("two foming billows") to a grand climax:

> Her belly is that Magazine,
> At whose peep Nature did resigne
> That pretious Mould, by which alone,
> There can be framed such a One:
> At th'entrance of which hidden Treasure,
> Happy making above measure,
> Two Alabaster Pillars stand,
> To warn all passage from that Land;
> At foot whereof engraved is,
> The sad *Non Ultra* of Mans Bliss:[18]

The closing lines are borrowed from Marino's sonnet, "Durante il bagno", with its central metaphor comparing the woman's legs to pillars:

> Sovra basi d'argento in conca d'oro
> io vidi due colonne alabastrine
> dentro linfe odorate e cristalline
> franger di perle un candido tesoro.
> —O—dissi—del mio mal posa e ristoro,
> di natura e d'amor mète divine,
> stabilite per ultimo confine
> ne l'oceán de le dolcezze loro;

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 1096.
[17] His earliest extant poems date from 1608.
[18] *Poems*, ed. G. C. Moore Smith (Oxford, 1923), p. 4.

fossi Alcide novel, ché i miei trofei
dove mai non giungesse uman desio,
traspiantandovi in braccio erger vorrei;
o stringer, qual Sanson, vi potess'io,
ché, col vostro cader, dolce darei
tomba a la Morte, e morte al dolor mio.[19]

The difference in tone is extreme. Marino's tone, which might be described as pornography redeemed by subtle humor, is replaced in Herbert's poem by a solemn pose of polite compliment. Marino develops the pillar metaphor only in the sestet, and his playful extension of it in terms of his desire to overthrow the pillars like a new Samson does not conflict with its original grotesque quality. Herbert takes the figure much too seriously and attempts to expand it as if it were, like one of Donne's, capable of becoming a true instrument of vision, in short, as if it were a metaphysical figure.[20]

Thomas Carew, a peripheral member of the metaphysical group, who owed at least as much to the influence of Jonson as to that of Donne, paraphrased the same Marino poem far more successfully.[21] "The Complement", possibly written in friendly rivalry with Herbert, shows that Carew understood Marino's tone in addition to admiring his wit, and suggests that the Marinistic influence was at least as important for the so-called Cavalier poets as for the metaphysicals:[22]

I doe not love thee for those thighes,
Whose Alabaster rocks doe rise
So high and even that they stand
Like Sea-markes to some happy land.
Happy are those eyes have seene them,
More happy they that saile between them.[23]

The second poem in which Herbert paraphrases Marino is a ridiculous piece entitled "A Vision", imitated from Marino's sonnet "Mentre la sua donna si pettina". Herbert demonstrates in this poem

[19] *Poesie*, p. 77. Mario M. Rossi, *La Vita, le Opere, i Tempi di Edoardo Herbert di Chirbury* (Florence, 1947), I, 194–201, has identified this poem as the common source of both Herbert's "A Description" and Carew's "The Complement", and has also commented on Herbert's general use of Marino in "A Vision", "Upon Combing her Hair", and several other poems.

[20] Lord Herbert, like most of the metaphysical poets, had little interest in description for its own sake.

[21] Both Dunlap (Carew, p. 262) and Moore Smith (Herbert, p. 140) note the resemblance between "A Description" and "The Complement", but neither is aware of the common source in Marino's sonnet.

[22] Dunlap (Carew, p. lv) comments on the importance of Marino as a source for Carew's poems.

[23] Carew, pp. 100–101.

a complete failure to understand the function of decorative metaphor; "A Vision" is a poor poem because he does not share the conception of poetry underlying the original. Herbert must have realized that Marino's extended analogy between a woman's comb and a ship was incapable of any sort of "metaphysical" depth, that it had no potentiality for suggesting a psychological insight, but he did not realize that its purpose was decorative and descriptive, and accordingly he turned it into a sort of monstrous allegory, a riddle to be solved:

Within an *open curled Sea of Gold*
A *Bark of Ivory,* one day, I saw,
Which striking with his *Oars* did seem to draw
Tow'rds a fair *Coast,* wch I then did behold.

A Lady held the Stern, while her white hand
Whiter then either Ivory or *Sail,*
Over the surging Waves did so prevail,
That she had now approached near the *Land.*

When suddenly, as if she fear'd some wrack,
And yet the Sky was fair, and Air was clear,
And neither *Rock,* nor *Monster* did appear,
Doubting the Point, which spi'd, she turned back. . . .

Wherewith *Earths fairest Creature* I beheld,
For which both *Bark and Sea I gladly lost.*
Let no Philosopher of Knowledge boast,
Unless that he my Vision can unfold.[24]

In the original sonnet, although Marino maintains the extended conceit of the ship and the sea throughout the poem, he does not treat it with a "metaphysical" singleness of mind, nor is he averse to introducing casual supplementary metaphors. The figurative structure of the poem is associational rather than logical:

Onde dorate, e l'onde eran capelli,
navicella d'avorio un di fendea;
una man pur d'avorio la reggea
per questi errori preziosi e quelli;
e, mentre i flutti tremolanti e belli
con drittissimo solco dividea,
l'òr de le rotte fila Amor cogliea,

[24] Herbert, pp. 24–25. Convinced, apparently, of the obscurity of his allegory, Herbert thoughtfully provides a marginal gloss, which includes, at l. 11, the succinct commentary: "Wart", "Lice."

per formarne catene a' suoi rubelli.
Per l'aureo mar, che rincrespando apria
il procelloso suo biondo tesoro,
agitato il mio core a morte gia.
Ricco naufragio, in cui sommerso io moro,
poich'almen fûr, ne la tempesta mia,
di diamante lo scoglio e 'l golfo d'oro.[25]

Marino's style differs from that of the school of Donne in its sensuous diction, in its diffuse imagery, in its tangential structure, and in its tendency toward exclamation rather than argumentation. Perhaps my metrical translations of the two poems by Marino just discussed will serve to dramatize the stylistic differences which made it impossible for Herbert, as a follower of Donne, to translate any of the spirit of Marino:

During the Bath

On a silver base, within a shell of gold,
I saw two alabaster pillars rise,
While perfumed crystal floods revealed the prize
Of purest pearl, a treasure manifold.
I said, "O destined solace of my pain,
Divine repast of nature and of love,
From the ocean of your sweetness do not move
But in this final hiding place remain.

Were I a new Alcides I should show
Erect my standard where until this morrow
No man's desire has reached; or could I borrow
The strength of Samson, I should overthrow
Those columns, which in falling would bestow
A fragrant tomb to death, death to my sorrow.

While his Lady Combs her Hair

Through waves of gold, the waves which were her hair,
A little ship of ivory sailed one day,
A hand of ivory steered it on its way
Through precious undulations here and there.
And while along the tremulous surge of beauty
She drove a straight and never-ending furrow,
From the rows of tumbled gold Love sought to borrow
Chains to reduce a rebel to his duty.

My shipwrecked heart veers down to death so fast
In this stormy, blond and gilded sea that I

[25] *Poesie*, p. 78.

Am caught forever in its waves at last.
In golden gulfs, at least, I come to my
Tempestuous end, on rocks of diamond pressed,
—O rich disaster in which submerged I die.

It would be unjust to Herbert's minor, but very real, poetic talent to leave the impression that he was capable only of such atrocities as "A Description" and "A Vision". Fortunately, on one occasion he absorbed Marinistic elements into his own poetic style; "Upon Combing her Hair" is one of his most serene and moving love poems. Uncharacteristic of Herbert in its simplicity, directness, and relative abundance of sensuous imagery, it displays the virtues of his poetry at its best—subtle rhythm, startlingly appropriate conceits, and a well-expressed sense of the universal implications of his theme:

Breaking from under that thy cloudy Vail,
Open and shine yet more, shine out more clear
Thou glorious golden-beam-darting hair,
Even till my wonderstrucken Senses fail.

Shoot out in light, and shine those Rays on far,
Thou much more fair than is the Queen of Love,
When she doth comb her in her Sphere above,
And from a Planet turns a Blazing-Star. . . .

And now spread in their goodly length, sh'appears
No Creature which the earth might call her own,
But rather one, that in her gliding down,
Heav'ns beams did crown, to shew us she was theirs.

And come from thence, how can they fear times rage
Which in his power else on earth most strange
Such Golden treasure doth to Silver change
By that improper Alchimy of Age?

But stay, me-thinks, new Beauties do arise,
While she withdraws these Glories which were spread.
Wonder of Beauties, set thy radiant head,
And strike out day from thy yet fairer eyes.[26]

Richard Crashaw is by common consent the English metaphysical poet who is closest to Marino. Certainly such poems as "The Weeper" and "The Flaming Heart", with their explosive imagery, lush diction, and erotic overtones, stand out as something curiously

[26] Herbert, pp. 7–8. The poem does not have any specific source in Marino, but a glance at such poems as "La chioma della sua donna sventolata dall' aura" and "Le chiome sparse sulle onde" will indicate its general sources.

exotic, one is tempted to say "Neapolitan", in seventeenth-century English religious poetry. The typical Crashaw poem, sensuous, diffuse, disorderly, seems at first glance to be much closer to Marino than to Donne, and indeed Crashaw's indebtedness to Italian sources has been well established.[27]

One would expect to find "Sospetto d'Herode", Crashaw's translation of the first canto of Marino's *La Strage degl' Innocenti,* faithful in both letter and spirit. Actually, however, it shows divergences from the original which suggest the force and continuity of the English metaphysical tradition. A few important changes may be noticed even in the "Argomento" to the canto. Marino's original runs as follows:

> Sospettoso contempla, e dubbio scerne
> Pluto gli altrui misteri, e 'l proprio male
> Quinci un Ministro suo da l'ombre eterne
> Con le Furie compagne Erode assale;
> Questi i Satrapi aduna, e 'l lor consiglio
> Chiede con fiera voglia, orrido ciglio.[28]

Crashaw writes:

> Casting the times with their strong signes,
> Death's Master his own death divines.
> Strugling for helpe, his best hope is
> Herod's suspition may heale his.
> Therefore he sends a fiend to wake,
> The sleeping Tyrant's fond mistake;
> Who feares (in vain) that he whose Birth
> Meanes Heav'n, should meddle with his Earth.[29]

Most noticeable is Crashaw's removal of the machinery of classical myth, which Marino retains as a conventional metaphor for the tenants of the Christian inferno. For Marino, "Pluto" serves automatically as an appellation for Satan, "Furie" for his subordinate fiends. For Crashaw, the worlds of classical myth and Christian reality are clearly distinguished, and this distinction is quite possibly related to Donne's banishment of "the goodly train/ Of Gods and Goddesses" from the realm of poetry.[30]

But of equal importance is Crashaw's greater emphasis on para-

[27] See Mario Praz, *Secentismo e Marinismo in Inghilterra* (Florence, 1925), Part II; Austin Warren, *Richard Crashaw: a Study in Baroque Sensibility* (Baton Rouge, La., 1939).
[28] G. B. Marino, *La Strage degl' Innocenti* (Bologna, 1721), p. 3.
[29] *Poems,* ed. A. R. Waller (Cambridge, 1904), p. 90.
[30] Carew, p. 73.

dox. Twice, in the "Argomento", Crashaw expresses paradoxes not found in the original, and in each case the paradox is related to the basic mysteries of the Christian belief—in the second line the mystery of personal immortality, in the eighth line the fundamental mystery of the incarnation. Marino, despite the fondness for verbal or ornamental paradox noted in reference to his *rime,* pares his "argomento" down to the narrative framework; genre seems to have a more prescriptive effect on him than on the metaphysical poet, who is, even in narrative poetry, discursive and intellectual by temperament.

Crashaw's preoccupation with the Christian paradoxes is evident throughout the poem in the embroideries which he makes upon his original. Marino's description of Satan early in the poem (p. 4), for example:

> Con la vista pestifera, e sanguigna,
> Con l'alito crudel ch'avampa, e fuma,
> La pira accende orribile, e maligna,
> Che inconsumabilmente altrui consuma,
> Con amaro stridor batte, e degrigna
> I denti, aspri di rugine, e di schiuma;
> E de' membri d'acciaio entro le fiamme
> Fa con l'estremo suo sonar le squamme.

becomes (p. 92):

> His flaming Eyes dire exhalation,
> Unto a flaming pile gives fiery Breath;
> Whose unconsum'd consumption preys upon
> That never-dying Life of a long Death.
> In this sad House of slow Destruction,
> (His shop of flames) hee fryes himself, beneath
> A masse of woes, his Teeth for Torment gnash,
> while his steele sides sound with his Tayles strong lash.

The picture is fundamentally the same, but Crashaw abbreviates Marino's almost exclusively physical description in order to expand the reference to the "inconsumable" flames to a consideration of the fact that Hell is a living, indeed immortal death, for Satan as well as for his victims.

Elsewhere Crashaw reveals his irresistible tendency toward the paradoxical and the cosmic. Marino's description of the visits of the shepherds and the magi to the infant Christ (pp. 6-7) is full of striking metaphor, but the purpose of the metaphor is to illustrate a simple narrative movement:

Vede de la felice, e santa notte
Le tacit' ombre, e i tenebrosi orrori
Da le voci del Ciel percosse, e rotte,
E vinti dagli angelici splendori;
Vede per le selve, e per selvagge grotte
Correr bifolchi poi, correr pastori,
Cortando lieti il gran Messia venuto
De i rozzi doni il semplice tributo. . . .
Vede dal Ciel con peregrino raggio
Spiccarsi ancor miracolosa stella,
Che verso Betthelem diritto il viaggio
Seguendo va solforegiante, e bella;
E quasi precursor divin Messagio,
Fidata scorta, e luminosa ancella,
Tragge di la da gli adorati Eoi
L'inclito stuol de' tre presaghi Eroi.

Crashaw's translation of the passage draws the metaphor together and subordinates the vividness of the individual images to the doctrinal point which they embody—the interinvolvement of heaven and earth in the incarnation, and the attendant reversal of earthly logic (p. 94):

He saw how in that blest Day-bearing Night,
The Heav'n-rebuked shades made hast away;
How bright a Dawne of Angels with new Light
Amaz'd the midnight world, and made a Day
Of which the Morning knew not: Mad with spight
He markt how the poor Shepheards ran to pay
Their simple Tribute to the Babe, whose Birth
Was the great business both of Heav'n and Earth. . . .
He saw Heav'n blossome with a new-borne light,
On which, as on a glorious stranger gaz'd
The Golden eyes of Night: whose Beame made bright
The way to *Beth'lem,* and as boldly blaz'd,
(Nor askt leave of the Sun) by Day as Night.
By whom (as Heav'ns illustrious Hand-maid) rais'd
Three Kings (or what is more) three Wise men went
Westward to find the worlds true *Orient.*

Despite a certain temperamental kinship to Marino which manifests itself in a love of diffuse and startling metaphor, Crashaw, in the "Sospetto d'Herode" as in his independent works, differs from the Italian poet in both style and vision. Moved by a sense that "one Center reconciles all things",[31] Crashaw fashioned from material of

[31] Crashaw, p. 91.

the utmost diversity a poetry of spiritual unity. He aims always at the mystical rather than the marvelous.[32]

It is difficult to accept the hypothesis of a general European baroque style, a style which embraces both Marino and the English metaphysicals. Beyond the divergences imposed by language, beyond the variations of individual temperament, a profound stylistic difference separates them. To summarize, the poetry of Marino and his followers differs from the English metaphysical pattern in its use of mythological reference and pastoral machinery, in its auditory smoothness, in its sensuous imagery, and in its diffuse metaphorical patterns. It differs further in its continued use of the characteristic Renaissance forms of epic, sonnet, and madrigal (one may note that there is no "metaphysical" *Adone* and that Crashaw's *Strage degl' Innocenti* is incomplete).

The unbroken continuity which exists between the great literature of the Italian Renaissance and the work of Marino is significant. For *marinismo* is not the ebullient youth of a new poetic style; it is the old age of Renaissance poetry. Marino, without the great humanity of Ariosto or the ethical seriousness of Tasso, employed the poetic style which he had inherited from them. And the startling metaphors and brilliant paradoxes which are the only points of similarity between his poetry and that of the school of Donne are, in Marino, perhaps nothing more than the last decadent manifestations of the Renaissance style, a style which had been characterized by richness, diversity, and the capacity for wonder.

The true English equivalent to the poetry of Marino is found, not among the metaphysicals, but in the work of Giles and Phineas Fletcher, contemporaries of Donne and Lord Herbert but distinguished from them by their fidelity to the Spenserian tradition. Standing in something of the same relation to Spenser as Marino stands to Tasso, the Fletchers, like Marino, modified the Renaissance style in the direction of more ornate adornment, more violent imagery, and more startling figuration. Like Marino and unlike Donne, they continued the Renaissance tradition of the long poem.[33]

The English metaphysical poets, men as diverse as Donne,

[32] Crashaw's conception of poetry could never be adequately described by Marino's famous couplet (quoted in Praz, *Secentismo*, p. 270):

È del poeta il fin la meraviglia,
Chi non sa far stupir vada alla striglia.

[33] H. J. C. Grierson, *The First Half of the Seventeenth Century* (Edinburgh, 1906), p. 143, remarks that parts of Giles Fletcher's *Christ's Victory and Triumph* are far more Marinistic than "anything in Donne or his school". The Fletchers, of course, differ from Marino in subject matter, as their poetry is almost exclusively religious.

Crashaw, and Marvell, stand in an equivocal position with regard to Renaissance poetic tradition. Their style is certainly not, like Marino's, Renaissance style in an overripe form; it might be better described as a reaction of the Renaissance mind to the waning of the Renaissance itself. All men of learning, all essentially conservative in outlook,[34] Donne and his followers attempted, in the new age, to synthesize the disparate elements of their amorous or religious experience into a unity to replace that which they felt had been lost. As a result they wrote a poetry of the intellect—and that quality alone is sufficient to distinguish them from Marino, whose brilliant but ultimately cynical work differs from that of his great forebears in being solely a poetry of the senses.

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[34] The basic conservatism of the metaphysical poets has been remarked on by H. J. C. Grierson, *Metaphysical Poetry from Donne to Butler* (Oxford, 1947), p. xxix, and by T. S. Eliot, *Selected Essays* (New York, 1951), p. 253.

# The Attack on the Renaissance in Theology Today*

Ever since the Renaissance first invented itself some six hundred years ago, there has been no agreement as to what it is. Its definitions have been as many and varied as the legions of scholars who have dealt with it, and the more that is learned about the Renaissance, the less certainty there is as to its extent, nature, purposes, and results. I need not rehearse the labyrinthine story of the idea of the Renaissance; the study of studies of the Renaissance has become a scholarly field in itself; and Professor Ferguson has written the history of the idea of the Renaissance with just the proper mixture of authority, wonderment, and exasperation which it deserves.[1] I should like to call attention to a single recent episode in the history of the idea of the Renaissance, first, because it is concerned with an area of discussion of the Renaissance problem a little off the beaten track of conventional Renaissance scholarship; second, because it illustrates a peculiar power of the Renaissance itself, that is, its inevitable and invariable ability to provoke heat and passion; and third, because it opens a kind of Beaumont's window into the motivations of history writing which affords us that perspective in depth so essential to its understanding but so difficult to obtain. I refer to the attack on the Renaissance which is a strong and surprising feature of the theology being written today.

What is unexpected about the attack on the Renaissance from this quarter is the almost unanimous agreement on this point of the theologians of all the major western faiths, Catholic, Hebrew, Greek Orthodox, and Protestant, and, among the Protestants, virtually all the denominations. The sharply critical theological treatment of the Renaissance, which often takes on an asperity a little at odds with Christian charity, is in turn related to the contemporary crisis of faith with which the theologians are primarily and naturally concerned. It is their view that the crisis of faith today is directly attributable to the Renaissance, that those ideas which have brought about the contemporary spiritual crisis originated in and were developed by the Renaissance, and that the crisis is in fact the infection of the Renaissance come to a head today. Failure of nerve, crisis of spirit, loss of faith in traditional values, doubt, depression, frustration, suffocation

* Read at the Newberry Library Conference on Renaissance Studies 16 April 1955.

[1] Wallace K. Ferguson, *The Renaissance in Historical Thought* (Boston, 1948).

of spirit, nihilism, defeatism, indifference, totalitarianism of mind and body, compromise with principle, moral obfuscation, fatalism, materialism: these words and phrases, and others like them, mark the symptoms of the crisis of spirit of our times and appear over and over again in one form or the other in contemporary theology.[2]

The deep spiritual malaise of which we are accused today stems from the Renaissance, which passed its fatal heritage on to us through a succession of ideological movements which intensified and deepened it. There appears to be common agreement among the theologians that despite the wide variety of philosophies since the Renaissance, they are at bottom essentially all alike in bearing the Renaissance taint. T. E. Hulme declared without qualification: "all philosophy since the Renaissance is . . . the *same* philosophy. The family resemblance is much greater than is generally supposed. The obvious diversity is only that of the various species of the same genus."[3] And Maritain goes so far as to accuse all modern philosophy of exhibiting the same error: "Whether they be neo-Kantians or neo-positivists, idealists, Bergsonians, logistics, pragmatists or neo-Spinozists, or neo-mysticists, one ancient sin works in the roots of all modern philosophies—the old error of *nominalism.*"[4] The fatal descent goes from seventeenth-century science to the age of Enlightenment, through romanticism, Hegelianism, Darwinism, Marxism, and on to existentialism; as Berdyaev writes:

> Renaissance humanism affirmed the autonomy of man, and his freedom in the spheres of cultural creation, science and art. Herein lay its truth, for it was essential that the creative force of humanity should surmount the obstacles and prohibitions that mediaeval Christianity had put in its way. Unfortunately, however, the Renaissance also began to affirm man's self-sufficiency, and to make a rift between him and the eternal truths of Christianity. In this lay its error. Here we have the fountain-head of the tragedy of modern history, the tragic dialectic of humanism in which man's self-sufficiency becomes a denial of man and thus leads to anti-humanism. A divorce is effected between religious and anti-religious humanism. In opposition to the divine-humanity of Christ—that is the simultaneous activity of the two natures—the divine principle began to work against the human, and the human against the divine. God became the enemy of man and man the enemy of God.[5]

[2] There is no point in documenting this generalization; it is either explicit or taken for granted in the works of the theologians who will be treated below, and it extends even to the unorthodox but religious cults, for example, the followers of Gurdjieff and Ouspensky (J. G. Bennett, *The Crisis in Human Affairs,* London, 1948).

[3] T. E. Hulme, *Speculations,* ed. Herbert Read (New York, 1924), p. 12.

[4] Jacques Maritain, *The Degrees of Knowledge* (New York, 1938), p. 1.

[5] Nicolas Berdyaev, *Towards a New Epoch,* tr. Oliver F. Clarke (London, 1949), pp. 16–17. The attack on Renaissance and seventeenth-century science will be treated below; the

In the view of the theologians, then, the major ideological movements produced by western civilization since the Renaissance have been, because of their corrupt origin in the Renaissance, false roads leading us on to the dead end of spiritual crisis. As the influential German Catholic theologian Karl Adam puts it:

> The individualism of the Renaissance, the dismemberment of man and his relations in the age of Enlightenment, and finally the subjective idealism of Kant, whereby our minds were taught to relinquish the objective thing, the trans-subjective reality, and to indulge in boundless subjectivism: these influences tore us from the moorings of our being, and especially from our true and essential basis, that humanity which produces, supports and enfolds us. We became imprisoned within the walls of our own selves, unable any more to attain to humanity, to the full, whole man. The category "humanity" became foreign to our thought, and we thought and lived only in the category of self.[6]

What were the steps by which the Renaissance has inexorably and treacherously lured us to our present spiritual and intellectual dilemma? First of all, it shifted the emphasis from a theocentric to an anthropomorphic view of the world. As Étienne Gilson has put it: "The difference between the Renaissance and the Middle Ages was not a difference by addition but by subtraction. The Renaissance, as it has been described to us, was not the Middle Ages plus man, but the Middle Ages minus God, and the tragedy is that in losing God the Renaissance was losing man himself."[7] The same idea is repeated by Berdyaev, who is quoted with approval by John Baillie, the Scots theologian; Berdyaev writes: "The Renaissance began with the affirmation of man's creative individuality; it ended with its denial."[8] Agreement on this point comes as well from the Protestant Hopper who sums up the argument of the theologians in this way:

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Enlightenment, Marxism, Dostoyevsky, Nietzsche, Kierkegaard, and existentialism are criticised by Berdyaev, *ibid.*, pp. 20–22; Kant by Berdyaev, in Matthew Spinka, *Nicolas Berdyaev: Captive of Freedom* (Philadelphia, 1950), p. 73; the Enlightenment by John Baillie, *Invitation to Pilgrimage* (New York, 1945), pp. 74–75; Marxism and what he terms liberalized Protestantism by Northrop Frye in an essay, "Trends in Modern Culture," contributed to *The Heritage of Western Culture*, ed. Randolph C. Chalmers (Toronto, 1952), pp. 102–17, a collection of essays sponsored by the United Church of Canada; the Enlightenment, Marxism, Darwinism, Kant, Hegel, and romanticism by Stanley R. Hopper, *The Crisis of Faith* (London, 1947), passim; deism and romanticism by Peter Wust in "Crisis in the West," tr. E. I. Watkin in *Essays in Order*, ed. Christopher Dawson and T. F. Burns (New York, 1931), pp. 112–13; the most sustained attack on rationalism, romanticism, mechanism, Darwinism, and what he calls the irrationalism of modern thought is by Fulton J. Sheen, *Philosophy of Religion* (Dublin, 1952), pp. 3–133.

[6] *The Spirit of Catholicism*, tr. Dom Justin McCann (New York, 1954) pp. 33–34.

[7] "Humanisme médiéval et Renaissance," in *Les Idées et les Lettres* (Paris, 1932), p. 192, tr. W. K. Ferguson, *op. cit.*, p. 382.

[8] Nicolas Berdyaev, *The End of our Time* (London, 1933); p. 54. Cf. Michael de la Bedoyere, *Christian Crisis* (New York, 1942), pp. 110–11.

Medievalism had reached a point of *stasis,* which brought about in the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries a crisis of affirmation, in which the pristine principles of Christian and classical vitality broke through the formalism—intellectual and ecclesiastical—which sought to encircle it. The succeeding centuries confused the essence of this new vitality, and so the period suffered by degrees that fatal amputation of the spirit which left the period doubly vitiated from within by (1) a rejection of the faith and (2) an appeal to self-sufficiency. The Renaissance-modern mind, therefore, proposed to itself a two-fold experiment—an experiment in thought and an experiment in culture—the one an attempt to find meaning by way of reason alone, the other an attempt to ground the self creatively upon its own limitless powers. The failure of these experiments brings us to the true crux of all human choosing and instructs us in our fundamental poverty apart from God.[9]

The Renaissance raised this *hybris* of civilization, as both Dawson and Niebuhr call it, to a new and absurd height,[10] and we are now suffering from the dizziness of our belated realization that we have been left dangling on an unsupported perch.

The transfer from the medieval to the Renaissance point of view brought about far-reaching consequences of which the Renaissance in its naive enthusiasm for novelty was unaware but from which its descendants now suffer. Hopper lists the shifts as follows: the substitution of personality for the doctrine of original sin; the substitution of perfectibility and progress for hierarchy and order; the substitution of history, or a teleological, for an ontological world view; and the substitution of "a sceptical suspension of decision on ultimate questions" for religious faith, all opening the way for rationalism, scepticism, empiricism, the self-sufficiency of reason, the subjectivity of knowledge, and the deification of science.[11] As Berdyaev dramatically declares: "In making himself God, man has unmanned himself."[12] Niebuhr is more sober but no less uncompromising in his rejection of the Renaissance: "The Renaissance is the real cradle of that very unchristian concept and reality: the autonomous individual."[13] Answering his own question, what is the chief cause of this crisis, Berdyaev replies:

> Since he moved out of the Middle Ages, man has followed a path marked by the autonomy of different spheres of creative activity. In the period of mod-

[9] *Op. cit.,* p. 64. Cf. Christopher Dawson, "Christianity and the New Age," in *Essays in Order,* pp. 160–61, and the German Evangelical Hans Zehrer, *Man in the World* (London, 1952), p. 68.

[10] Christopher Dawson, *op. cit.,* p. 160; Reinhold Niebuhr, *Faith and History* (New York, 1949), p. 8.

[11] *Op. cit.,* pp. 51–56.

[12] *The Fate of Man in the Modern World,* tr. Donald A. Lowrie (London, 1935), p. 29.

[13] *The Nature and Destiny of Man* (New York, 1946), I, 61.

ern history, which has already ceased to be modern and has become very old, all spheres of culture and of social life began to live and develop by their own laws, independent of any spiritual centre. Hence some of the creative powers held captive in the Middle Ages, could develop—Politics, economics, science, technics, nationality, etc.—none of these will recognize any moral law, any spiritual element higher than themselves. Machiavellism in politics, capitalism in economics, scientism in science, nationalism in the life of peoples, the integral power of technics over man—all of these are the results of those autonomies. The basic and fatal contradiction in the fate of European man was that the autonomy of various spheres of his activities was not the autonomy of man himself, as an integral being. Man became more and more the slave of these autonomous spheres of activity, which were not under subjection to the human spirit.[14]

It is worth noticing how, once the logic of this argument is accepted, even the staunchest Protestant is forced to elevate the Middle Ages at the expense of the Renaissance,[15] and, worse yet, to suspect the Reformation itself because of its inextricable connections with Renaissance humanism. "The Reformation, like the Renaissance", declares the professor of systematic theology of St. Andrew's College, Saskatoon, Canada, Dr. Randolph C. Chalmers, "must assume a certain amount of responsibility for the disunity of European life following the close of the Middle Ages."[16] And it is the Protestant Reinhold Niebuhr who submits the Reformation to the most searching criticism, especially those aspects of it which he describes under the heading of sectarian Protestantism, that is, "the impulse towards the perfection of individual life expressed in the pietistic sects and . . . the impulse towards the fulfillment of history expressed particularly in the Anabaptist and socially radical sects".[17] Similarly does he subject the Lutheran and Calvinistic Reformation to the most stringent scrutiny and he concludes that despite the Reformation "polemic against the premature transcendence over history in Catholicism, it is as frequently tempted to commit the same error as Catholicism (though with the use of different instruments of pretension) as it is to commit the opposite error".[18] The Protestant Hopper makes what seems to me a rather half-hearted defence of Luther against Maritain's scornful "Spoilt Saint"; "the truth is", says Hopper, "that Luther

[14] *The Realm of Spirit and the Realm of Caesar*, tr. Donald A. Lowrie (New York, 1952), pp. 52–53.

[15] John Baillie, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

[16] "The Contribution of the Renaissance and the Reformation", in *The Heritage of Western Culture*, p. 86.

[17] *The Nature and Destiny of Man*, II, 170–71; cf. II, 169–80.

[18] *Ibid.*, II, 203; cf. II, 184–204.

and the Reformation are still an issue".[19] And Berdyaev goes so far as to regard the Reformation as part of the disintegration of the Renaissance.

A major aspect of the Renaissance with which the theologians today find fault is what they term its excessive rationalism. The Renaissance discovery of the autonomy of reason led to the "real tragedy of the Renaissance", as Hopper calls it, and he continues:

For these two principles—that of the primacy of faith and that of the free criticism—were severed. The insights of Luther were accommodated to a dogmatic authoritarianism not less stringent than that against which Luther had protested; and the free criticism of experience became the notion of free inquiry operating in the interests of empirical investigation. Thus the spirit of man, which had experienced the momentary release into a life of faith and wisdom, was hurriedly closed off from both by the interception of a new dogmatism on the one hand and an empirical reduction of the criticism of experience upon the other. This left the self both naked and exposed, desperately introverted, and subject to a dialectic of gradual disillusionment and frustration. Secularity displaced the faith; freedom was debased into "emancipation"; humanistic good sense shrivelled into "enlightenment"; the individual lost his newly found dignity in the humiliating "discoveries" of a naturalistic science. Meanwhile faith, uncriticised by life and experience, congealed into a Protestant scholasticism, or eddied into pietism and the several sects or cults of religious experience (feeling); and free inquiry followed the path of rationalism, empiricism, utilitarianism, evolutionism, experimentalism, down to this present hour.[20]

Hopper reaches the unhappy conclusion that "the man who discovers himself in the beginning of the Renaissance loses himself at the end of the Renaissance". From the disparagement of the claims of Renaissance rationalism, the path of theological criticism leads through the condemnation of Montaigne's scepticism and on to the inevitable full-scale onslaught against science in general and Descartes in particular. Perhaps on no other point are the theologians of all faiths in such concerted agreement as on their attack on Renaissance science. The Protestants Alexander, Brunner, Hopper, Tillich, and Zehrer; the Greek Orthodox Berdyaev; the Hebrew Buber; and the Catholics Gilson, Maritain, and Sheen fire their heaviest salvos at Renaissance science and Descartes. As one Protestant theologian has stated the case for the prosecution:

Beginning with the new dispensation (the new covenant) of the Copernican revolution, setting free the "moribund" intelligences of medieval minds (to

[19] *Op. cit.*, p. 86.
[20] *Ibid.*, pp. 66-67.

speak from within the revolution), and conferring on the "modern" man a sense of liberation and emancipation from Church authorities and dogmas, it ushered in the "age of reason and of man." In the eighteenth century this science took on a role more hallowed still: it became Revealer, and the age was called the age of Enlightenment. Thence came the "century of hope," the century in which science as "the new Messiah" offered men a new salvation —the salvation of indefinite progress, the bliss of material achievement, with comfort, goods, and conveniences for all. The twentieth century acknowledged this new Kingdom, projected its utopias, complied with all pragmatics, and sought to usher in the Kingdom for the masses. Accepting Marx as its latter-day prophet, it sought the rationalization of all mankind (as Lenin said, the "electrification" of Europe).[21]

Probably the most sustained attack on Renaissance science and its subsequent pernicious effects on modern science, philosophy, and religion has been made by Msgr. Sheen. His book, *Philosophy of Religion,* written by the scholar and philosopher and not the TV entertainer, takes up in careful detail the impact of scientific concepts on physical theory, comparative religion, and historical methodology. The effect of this influence was to create two different metaphysics of man, one the Natural or Liberal Man, the other Frustrated Man, neither of which is capable of sustaining itself in the face of the spiritual crisis. In sum, science, "metaphysically presumptuous and religiously naive", is accused of dehumanizing and depersonalizing man by cutting him loose from his spiritual connections.[22]

"The defect of Descartes' *Discourse on Method,*" Unamuno has stated,

> lies not in the antecedent methodological doubt; not in his beginning by resolving to doubt everything, a merely intellectual device; but in his resolution to begin by emptying himself of himself, of Descartes, of the real man, the man of flesh and bone, the man who does not want to die, in order that he might be a mere thinker—that is, an abstraction.[23]

But it is Maritain who returns to the attack on his "dear enemy", Descartes, as he calls him, time and again. In his essay, "Religion and

[21] *Ibid.,* p. 30.

[22] H. B. Alexander, *God and Man's Destiny* (New York, 1936), pp. 8-9; Emil Brunner, *Man in Revolt,* tr. Olive Wyon (Philadelphia, 1947), p. 59; *The Theology of Paul Tillich,* ed. Charles W. Kegley and Robert W. Bretall (New York, 1952), p. 53; Martin Buber, "Religion and Ethics," tr. Eugene Kamenka and Maurice S. Friedman in *Eclipse of God* (New York, 1952), pp. 141–42; Hans Zehrer, *op. cit.,* pp. 210–68; Étienne Gilson, *The Unity of Philosophical Experience* (New York, 1948), pp. 120–21.

[23] Miguel de Unamuno, *The Tragic Sense of Life in Men and in Peoples,* tr. J. E. C. Flitch (London, 1931), p. 34.

Culture", Maritain simultaneously praises and indicts Descartes as the "one genius at all events among the many responsible for the evils which afflict us".[24] Descartes' dualistic knife, cutting in every direction, irrevocably and tragically split free spirit from geometrical extension, and through the gap poured those evil ideas of science, materialism, and rationalism which have inevitably led us to the moral and spiritual impasse. Maritain amplified this criticism in his 1934 lectures at the University of Santander where, in the section titled "The Dialectic of Anthropocentric Humanism—The Tragedy of Man", he declared:

> In the case of man it is observable that in the beginnings of the modern age, first with Descartes, then with Rousseau and Kant, rationalism had set up a proud and splendid image of the *personality* of man, inviolable, jealous of his immanence and his autonomy, and finally, good in essence. It is in the name of the rights and autonomy of this personality that the polemic of rationalism had condemned any intervention from outside in this perfect and sacred universe,—whether such intervention comes from revelation and grace or from the tradition of human wisdom, the authority of a law of which man is not the author, or of a soverign good which solicits his will, or finally, of an objective reality which would measure and regulate his intelligence.
>
> Yet in little more than a century, this proud anthropocentric personality has perished, and been involved in rapid ruin through the dispersion of its material elements.[25]

In the wake of Descartes came Darwinism, which struck a mortal blow at the rationalist conception of human personality, and Freudianism, which administered the *coup de grâce* by making man a "monster, dear to himself". The ultimate disintegration of the personality thus leaves the way clear for the collective man of Communism. Maritain continued the attack on Descartes in his *Philosophy of Nature* where, under the similar heading, "A Tragic Misunderstanding", he wrote:

> You can see how Descartes' rigorously mechanistic philosophy of nature was,—and this indeed is what condemns it as a philosophy,—a marvellously servile adaptation of philosophy to the dynamic state of the sciences and of scientific research during his time. He transferred into the philosophic order the very outlook that science needed from its methodological point of view and in the physico-mathematical order.[26]

[24] Jacques Maritain, "Religion and Culture," tr. J. F. Scanlon, in *Essays in Order*, *op. cit.*, p. 24.
[25] *True Humanism*, tr. M. R. Adamson (London, 1950), p. 20.
[26] *Philosophy of Nature*, tr. Imelda C. Byrne (New York, 1951), p. 53.

But it is in *Three Reformers* and *The Dream of Descartes,* particularly the latter, that Maritain most fully analyzes the defects of Cartesian thought. In *Three Reformers* Maritain accuses Descartes of importing "into the sphere of the human the prerogative of the angel: intuitive knowledge, innate in origin and independent of the world of things".[27] And in *The Dream of Descartes,* Maritain charges Descartes with distorting the concept of science; of destroying "the foremost and most immaterial of human hierarchies, the order of intellectual disciplines"; and, finally, of disjointing man into independent and opposite substances. Maritain sums up his indictment in one incisive sentence: "On the balance-sheet we should inscribe: rupture of the impulse which was directing all the labour of human science towards the eternal, toward conversation with the three divine Persons—upsetting to the plan of knowledge."[28]

Once Renaissance science and Descartes are convicted of such widespread and thorough-going epistemological deception, which betrayed man into the false paths of pride, solipsism, individualism, and vanity, the attack on the character of the Renaissance spreads in all directions. Berdyaev accuses the Renaissance of putting up man without God and against God; Peter Wust condemns it for substituting a secular culture for the life of faith; "From the Renaissance onwards", he states in his essay, "Crisis in the West", "the Christian concept of God recedes steadily into the background."[29] And it is Niebuhr who writes the theological epitaph on the Renaissance: "The mistake of the Renaissance was to overestimate the freedom and power of man in history."[30]

I may also mention four important but less frequently expressed criticisms of the Renaissance made by the theologians today. The first is by Bishop Anders Nygren in his stimulating *Agape and Eros* where he sharply distinguishes the Renaissance from the Reformation by declaring: "The Renaissance takes up the Eros motif, the Reformation the Agape motif."[31] And he goes on to say that in Ficino's thought, for example, "empirical man is made, in a way such as never before, the centre of the universe. In a word, it is a quest of the human god."[32] A second theological criticism of the Renaissance is that it gave rise to the idea of nationalism, to the inde-

[27] *Three Reformers* (New York, 1936), pp. 57 ff.; the summary is by Hopper.
[28] *The Dream of Descartes,* tr. Mabelle L. Anderson (London, 1946), p. 147.
[29] Peter Wust, "Crisis in the West", in *Essays in Order,* p. 112.
[30] *The Nature and Destiny of Man,* I, 68.
[31] *Agape and Eros,* tr. Philip S. Watson (Philadelphia, 1953), p. 669.
[32] *Ibid.,* p. 671.

pendent state, and to the consequent conflicts which followed in the train of nationalism. Baron von Hügel puts the case this way:

> Then there came the Renaissance and the birth of the strictly modern Nations, with their supposed utter mutual independence of each other, and their supposed omnipotent Governments—two wild and poisonous suppositions. Here the entire self-sufficingness, pure selfishness, and boundless competitiveness of the several Nations and States becomes the fashionable doctrine. With Hobbes, we find a conception of the State in full parallel with that of the individual man, and of both as purely predatory. The single man is a wolf to his fellow-individuals—a single wolf amongst and against the other single wolves, until the omnipotent state undertakes to do, for these single wolves, the prowling and preying upon the other packs of wolves with a perfection of force and cunning utterly beyond all private competition.[33]

His remarks would find a particularly strong echo in Berdyaev, who goes so far as to say that concurrently with nationalism the Renaissance produced as a new way of life the form of social organization known as capitalism, a way of life prodigiously destructive to the spirit of man. And Maritain is as critical of what he calls bourgeois humanism as he is of socialism; indeed, in many of the theologians who criticize the Renaissance, the idea of the rejection of the world as it is, including its dominant nationalistic and capitalistic institutions, is certainly implicit, if not often explicit. However, Niebuhr at least grants to the Renaissance a greater liberalism with regard to toleration and the state than either the Catholics or Protestants showed in practice. "The chief source of toleration in modern history", he writes, "has been in the various forces of the Renaissance movement, both sectarian and secular." And he concedes that the Renaissance "recognized the perils of conflict in the dynamic elements of social existence".[34]

Another argument against the Renaissance is that it fell prey to historicism. According to Msgr. Sheen, both the Reformation and the Renaissance opposed the transcendent divine principle in history, for they "wiped out the past and gave us discontinuous history".[35]

[33] Friedrich von Hügel, *Essays and Addresses on the Philosophy of Religion, Second Series* (London, 1951), pp. 262–63. This point of view has found expression in certain influential intellectual Catholic lay circles, as, for example, in Barbara Ward's most recent book, *Faith and Freedom*. In his review of the book in *The New York Times* of November 8, 1954, Orville Prescott writes: "Miss Ward is a Roman Catholic who believes that the downward turn in the graph of Western civilization came . . . in the sixteenth century with the division of Christendom, the secularization of living, the rise of despotic governments and the exaltation of wealth so that avarice and cupidity ceased to be regarded as vices."

[34] *The Nature and Destiny of Man*, II, 221, 277.

[35] *Op. cit.*, p. 360.

A most subtle and sustained attack on secular views of history is to be found in Niebuhr's *Faith and History;* he begins his critique by pointing out that the Renaissance returned to the classical cyclical interpretation of history but "historical cycles became spirals of advance in Renaissance historiography. Its passion for a return to old disciplines was submerged by its enthusiasm for man's new and growing powers." The effect of this transformation was to destroy the concept of endlessly returning cycles with their implied despair; time lost its mystery; and history was "no longer an enigma. It became the assurance of man's redemption from his every ill."[36] From this root, the concept that history is rationally intelligible, grew the subsequent modern views of history, views which Niebuhr condemns as too simple morally, for he holds that "man's life and history can be made intelligible only within the framework of a larger realm of mystery and meaning discerned by faith".[37] It is this view informing the second volume of Niebuhr's Gifford lectures which leads him to conclude that, from the standpoint of the Christian faith, "history is not meaningless because it cannot complete itself; though it cannot be denied that it is tragic because men always seek prematurely to complete it".[38]

The final criticism of the Renaissance made by the theologians today is directed against its art. I do not refer to adverse judgments of the art of the Renaissance on technical or aesthetic grounds but criticism which stems directly from theological presuppositions. In his Mellon lectures, Maritain summarizes the course of western art since the birth of Christ as passing "from a sense of the human Self first grasped as object, and in the sacred exemplar of Christ's divine Self, to a sense of the human Self finally grasped as subject, or in the creative subjectivity of man himself, man the artist or the poet".[39] In Byzantine, early Christian, and Romanesque art, the mystery of the Person emerges as object; in Gothic architecture, and in the work of Duccio, Giotto, Angelico, and Grunewald, this mystery discloses its more human depths; and in the art of the Renaissance "the sense of the human Self and of human subjectivity enters a process of spiritualization, and passes from the *object* depicted to the *mode* with which the artist performs his work". The results of this shift were a *prise de conscience* of the intellectual energy of art, a *prise de conscience* of the working ego, and, above all, "the unconscious pres-

[36] *Faith and History, op. cit.,* p. 2.
[37] *Ibid.,* p. 101.
[38] *The Nature and Destiny of Man, op. cit.,* II, 32.
[39] *Creative Intuition in Art and Poetry* (New York, 1953), pp. 21–22.

sure of the artist's individuality upon the very object he was concerned with in Nature came to exercise and manifest itself freely in his work".[40] This criticism is made by Peter Wust in another way when he speaks of the Renaissance artist's absorption in classical and secular culture as ends in themselves which "inevitably effected a cleavage within his soul between his Christian belief in the supernatural" and profane culture. This he names the "modern malady" and he warns that "the time will soon come when the artist will no longer find his way back to the foot of the Cross when he has laid down his brush".[41] But the most consistent and detailed application of the theological criticism of Renaissance art has been made by E. I. Watkin, a Catholic writer much influenced by Christopher Dawson whose historical studies are based on his Catholic point of view. Watkin's book, *Catholic Art and Culture,* contains five sections whose headings tell in brief the history of Western art as he sees it: classical autumn; Christian spring; summer: medieval Christendom; late summer: the disintegration of the medieval order: the Renaissance; autumn: the age of Baroque; and winter: the modern world. Watkin derives his critique of Renaissance art from his idealization of the medieval synthesis in theory and realized in practice in the Summa, the *Divina Commedia,* and in the cathedral where "medieval religion-culture achieved a harmony of the vertical and the horizontal movements of the human spirit, reconciled detachment with appreciation, built and ordered the earthly city with a vision directed to the heavenly". But the tension between the religious and the vertical and the secular and horizontal movements was too delicately poised and Renaissance art is the record of the disturbance of that tension.[42] Watkin likens the Renaissance to an adolescent too eager and undisciplined in his enthusiasms: "Scholarship had opened to him the world of the past, exploration was opening up the entire world of the present, science offered the alluring prospect of a brave new world in the future." The result was that the "Renaissance tensions were thus largely due to the imperfect assimilation of the new matter, not yet digested". The logic of Watkin's position thus forces him to praise baroque art, the art of the counter-Reformation which he defines as "an effort to re-establish in every sphere the Catholic culture of the Middle Ages in forms and by methods suited to the novel conditions", so that baroque art may in turn be defined as "the

[40] *Ibid.,* p. 23.
[41] "Crisis in the West," in *Essays in Order,* p. 112.
[42] *Catholic Art and Culture* (London, 1947), p. 75.

employment of classical forms by Gothic feeling". He says of baroque art: "I love it . . . it was the ripe fruit of the Catholic religion-culture . . . It will teach us how to be free without being lawless, to be humanist without being secular, to rise high yet range far, to live a life hid with Christ in God yet regard no human interest as alien."[43]

In essence, then, these are the criticisms which constitute the theological attack on the Renaissance today. For the most part, they are none of them unfamiliar to any one who has studied the history of the idea of the Renaissance. They have appeared singly or in combination in the work of critics of the Renaissance whose methodological presuppositions have been quite free of theological conditioning and they will be found in their appropriate places in Ferguson. I do not want to get involved in the reasons for the extent and virulence of this attack except to say that, once you commit yourself to a denunciation of the salient features of the world as it is, you are inevitably led to the condemnation of the Renaissance, and the process works both ways. Many of the most persistent critics of the Renaissance have insisted that not only did it never exist but it was also a very bad thing, but here you cannot have it both ways: for if it was a bad thing, it must have existed, and if it didn't exist, it certainly cannot be blamed for what then could only have happened in the Middle Ages, obviously from the theological point of view, the wrong time for bad things to have happened.

What attitude ought one to take toward this theological attack on the Renaissance? Religious considerations apart, there seem to me three possible approaches. The first impulse of the defender of the Renaissance is naturally to expose the errors in fact, and there are not a few, in the attack, and it is to this task that Coulton has exuberantly devoted himself.[44] But it is not so much the facts which are at stake as the interpretation of the facts, nor can one question the accuracy of facts when it is the impetus behind a point of view which forces the accumulation of new information. Much more sophisticated is the approach which turns the tables by arguing that at its best the Renaissance exhibits those Christian virtues which it is accused of denying. "The classical humanism of the Renaissance was fundamentally medieval and fundamentally Christian", Professor Bush has said, and he has back of him a reputable body of scholar-

[43] *Ibid.*, pp. 139–40.

[44] See, for example, Coulton's criticism of Maritain's scholarship, "The Historical Background of Maritain's Humanism", *JHI*, v (1944), pp. 415–33.

ship to sustain his point of view.[45] But while this approach does in part redress the balance, it cannot nor does it intend to encompass the variety and complexity of the Renaissance as a whole. Finally, I would suggest that one can approach the Renaissance without bias or rancor, to accept it as an historical phenomenon which, whether we like it or not, did take place as it did. Perhaps if we had been given the opportunity and the power to rearrange the history of man, we would have seen to it that it would not be as messy as it has turned out to be. But there it is, not as we would like it to be, but as it is, for good or for ill, and I cannot see that anything is to be gained by taking issue today with events which occurred six hundred years ago, especially since we have other, and I think, more significant and more immediate problems to solve if we expect to have a future in which to continue to debate the Renaissance problem. If the world is as bad today as the theologians tell us it is, the blame rests not with Michelangelo or Shakespeare or Bacon but with us, and the remedies lie not in their hands but ours. But do not think that I am going to plead for the exclusion of bias and passion from scholarship. On the contrary, only conviction and zeal create the drive which uncovers new materials and yields fresh points of view. When the idea of the Renaissance was tied to the ideas of science and progress in the seventeenth century, it was alive and meaningful; when it became the exclusive property of the antiquarians, it languished and lost contact with living issues. History is a mirror in which we look into the past to see how we ought to appear in the future and I would keep no one from pursuing this oblique utopianism. But since we know that it is not the mirror which lies but the beholder, we need constantly around us scholars who can tell the emperor whether his suit fits or not, or indeed if it is on at all.

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[45] Douglas Bush, *The Renaissance and English Humanism* (University of Toronto Press, 1939), p. 68. See W. K. Ferguson, *op. cit.*, pp. 342–58 and 380–82, for other examples.

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